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The Shape of Things

FEW MEN IN POLITICAL LIFE RATE THE tribute of public tears when they die. Franklin D. Roosevelt was one; Fiorello H. LaGuardia, another. People who had never seen New York's former Mayor in life wept as they filed past his coffin, and the sense of loss was apparent throughout the city. The genuine sorrow at LaGuardia's death reflected more than an appreciation of his color and his achievement, though they were great. The tireless, paternal, irascible, cocky, and often vituperative little man who raced to fires, delighted in surprise visits to city institutions, personally investigated the humblest citizen's complaint, read the "funnies" over the air during a newspaper strike, and, back in 1937, suggested making Hitler a central figure in the World's Fair Chamber of Horrors was without doubt, as one reporter describes him, "New York's most colorful mayor since Peter Stuyvesant." And his long record of accomplishments includes the breaking of Tammany power, the introduction of scrupulously honest municipal government, the unification of a fantastically scrambled transit system, and the building of enough parks, playgrounds, highways, housing projects, markets, and bridges to alter, to its vast improvement, the face of the world's largest city. But beyond all this was a warmth, a homey informality, and an identification with the people who had elected him that gave LaGuardia the status of a public protector. His utter scorn for party loyalty and "clubhouse loafers," on the one hand, and for the cold theorizing of traditional reformers, on the other, established a rapport with the voters that became the envy and awe of the professionals. LaGuardia's mayoralty proved brilliantly that political machines are no more inevitably a part of the modern city than typhoid epidemics. Citizens of Boston, Jersey City, and points west, take note.

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THE WORLD SUPPLY OF GRAIN IS FALLING short of the demand by 11,000,000 tons. Set beside this fact two others: Americans are consuming more food than ever before—they are, for instance, eating 25 per cent more meat than they ate in 1941, and meat is part grain; Europeans, on the other hand, will eat 5 to 10 per cent less food in the next twelve months than they have in the past twelve, and in the past twelve they have existed on 1,700 to 2,000 calories a day. The human answer to this state of affairs is as obvious as the steak on your plate. Those who have so much more than enough should share at least the excess with those who have so much less. Most Americans, as human beings, would accept that answer, and offer more. But that is not the answer Europe is getting from America. On the contrary, Europe is being told that it must tighten *its* belt. It is even being told that shipments of food to Europe have caused inflation of food prices here because the demands of Americans, who have thrown their belts away, outrun the unprecedented supply. Which is surely adding insult to injury when we consider that this inflation, which was induced not by any actual scarcity but only by a speculators' scarcity and was set off by the casual and triumphant removal of price controls, has cut Europe's capacity to purchase food by sharply reducing the value of the few dollars it has.

*

AMERICA TODAY, IN RELATION TO THE REST of the world, is the biggest and blackest of black markets, and the fact that it "just growed" and that many Americans are also its victims is not readily apparent 3,000 miles away. The practical immediate way to curb this black market, as *The Nation* pointed out last week, is to restore price controls at the source of production in industrial and building materials, especially steel—whose masters have been "cleverly" preparing for, and preparing, a depression, by pushing up prices—and in basic farm commodities like grain and livestock. The Administration should move quickly toward that goal. And in the process, it should go to the people on the question of food for Europe. It should go to the people not merely with the self-serving arguments that if we let Europe starve, it will go Communist and that feeding Europe, even at our own expense, will be cheaper than another depression and another war. These are cogent but graceless arguments. The question that should be put to the American people with all the force at the Administration's command is the simple human question: "Shall we let Europe starve?" We know what the answer would be, and that answer would not only give Europe a new lease on life; it might also serve to halt the moral depression in this country which is already far advanced.

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ARE THE BONES OF DEAD MEN BLACK AND white? This question is suggested by the objections of Representative John Rankin to a measure authorizing War Department use of federally owned lands for national cemeteries. Some time ago, the War Department issued an order forbidding race segregation in such cemeteries. Annoyed by this, Mr. Rankin induced Representative Richard Welch of California to agree that the new authorization measure would have no application in the Southern states. The "white boys" of the South, as Mr. Rankin put it, will now be buried in local, segregated graveyards. No additional federal lands in the South will be used for burying veterans. That not a single member of the House had the decency to object to this, the crassest of Rankin's bigotries to date, is some measure of the mentality and moral fiber of the Eightieth Congress.

*

IN ITALY, THE STRIKES AGAINST HIGH PRICES and food shortages had clearer political implications than elsewhere in Western Europe. The recent French work stoppages, for example, were limited to the main industrial centers; in Italy, they spread swiftly to the countryside, where 1,000,000 farm workers joined in the greatest agrarian strike Italy has ever experienced. The movement reached a climax last Saturday when the Socialists and Communists organized a gigantic demonstration to demand representation in the government. The speakers directed their attacks not only against the De Gasperi Cabinet but against the Vatican as well. The truce initiated some months ago when the Communist leader, Palmiro Togliatti, voted to ratify the Lateran treaties, is now over. In recent months, the Vatican has become increasingly outspoken in its support of De Gasperi, and Pope Pius's speech of September 7 was interpreted in left circles as an open challenge to the workers' parties. The extension of the political fight to the religious domain is deplorable, but the Vatican can no longer claim that it stands above politics; it has abandoned all pretense of neutrality and tossed its tiara into the ring. Though Saturday's demonstration was not the "prelude to revolution" which the rightist press has long been announcing for reasons of its own, it nevertheless was a clear indication of the present temper of the Italian masses. In Europe today, and particularly in Italy, where bitter memories of twenty years of fascist rule are still fresh, the people are determined to prevent reactionary governments from exploiting economic difficulties to stop the swing toward the left.

*

PHILIP MURRAY IS REPORTED TO HAVE remarked that bickering among the leaders of the United Automobile Workers has "sunk to a level of complete moral degeneration." The president of the C. I. O., who is unusually sensitive to the dangers of factionalism, may

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have been laying it on a bit thick, but there is no doubt that the country's largest union is about to indulge in a brawl that will have its effects on the entire C. I. O. On one level, the fight is the usual struggle between groups designated, with more convenience than accuracy, as left and right. More immediately, it is the campaign battle between Walter Reuther, running for reelection as president, and the faction led by R. J. Thomas, George Addes, and Richard T. Leonard. In electing Reuther last year, the union boxed him in with an executive board made up largely of his opponents. Reasonably enough, Reuther is out to get a board that will support him, and he is hitting hard. Against his present colleagues he makes two principal charges: that they have blocked his efforts to implement the union's constitutional provision barring Communists from office, and that they have sanctioned the "scandalous waste" of $500,000 in a fruitless and badly bungled drive to organize a single company in Cleveland. Reuther further accuses his opponents of "pork-chopping," or living off the union pay roll without delivering much in return, and of having made personal loans to individual delegates at the last convention. Confusing the issue almost beyond untangling are numerous personal feuds, with Thomas characterizing Reuther as a man "drunk with personal ambition" and Reuther returning the compliment by branding Thomas a "vindictive and poor loser." Perhaps, after all, Mr. Murray was right.

Candor on the Right

WE WOULD not blame Governor Dewey if on reading the remarks of his rival, Senator Taft, he should be more convinced than ever that Republican Presidential candidates should be seen and not heard. In the first week of a thinly disguised campaign tour, the Ohio Senator delivered himself of two boners either of which should be enough to wreck his chances. On the decisive issue of prices, he gave the press a field day with the formula "eat less meat and eat less extravagantly"—a bit of advice rendered the more piquant for having been delivered at a beefsteak banquet. And a few days later, he told an audience that while the Republican Party had a social-legisation program in mind, it was "loath to proceed" with it until 1949, when it could safely be "inaugurated under a Republican President."

Reporting Taft's "eat less" pronouncement from Los Angeles, Roscoe Drummond of the *Christian Science Monitor* wrote that "no one who heard him thought he was urging any heartless soak-the-poor program," and he admitted the next day that "there are a lot of people who can only just get enough" to eat. But the phrasing

Ezekiel Schloss

"Let 'em eat less!"

of his first comment was characteristically bourbon in its vast ineptness. As we point out on page 297, Americans are in fact consuming much more than their fair share of the world's food, but the distribution is so far from equitable within our own country that a flat prescription for voluntary retrenchment is hardly the answer to our run-away price problem. Lower-income Americans, now spending fully half their income on food, are perforce practicing the Taft eat-less formula right now—and it will doubtless work if only their diets get low enough. As one of Taft's party colleagues put it, "The cure for high prices is high prices," which is to say, there is nothing wrong with the economy that enforced malnutrition won't cure. No unhealthy boom that won't produce its own corrective bust.

More revealingly than by his prescription for prices, Taft's highly publicized candor is exemplified by the statement on social-welfare legislation. Here is probably the most cynical avowal by a major political figure since Andrew Jackson openly made a national policy of the wardheeler's slogan, "To the victors belong the spoils." As his party's chief in the Senate, Taft sponsored a mild and watered-down housing bill. This is his way of telling scores of thousands of homeless veterans that if they want even this degree of relief they will have to wait until 1949—and they will have to elect a Republican President to match a Republican Congress. It is his way of serving the same notice on teachers and parents who might have taken seriously his bill for federal aid to the schools, and on those who might have set some store by his bill for improving the public health. On none of these measures, carrying his name, has the Republican boss of the Senate pressed for action. Now we know why.

Yet there are those who profess to see in Mr. Taft's

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frankness a redeeming quality—as though reactionary views and selfish politics were rendered less reactionary for being openly declared and less selfish for being flaunted. This is the inverted logic feared by the defense attorney who once told a jury: "My client may talk like an idiot and he may act like an idiot. But don't be deceived, gentlemen of the jury. He really is an idiot."

Lay Down Your Weapons!

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

SINCE President Truman declared war—political and economic war—on Russia last March, the campaign has progressed steadily. The uncompromising speech by Secretary Marshall in the General Assembly last Wednesday opened a new, major offensive. Vishinsky's defiant counter-thrust was notice that no ground is being given by Moscow; it did not alter the terms of the conflict.

Secretary Marshall

Most of those who listened to Marshall's cold denunciation of Russian obstruction and his proposals for action described the speech as "impressive"; some said the same of Vishinsky's sarcasm, so reminiscent of Chicherin's biting attacks on the West after World War I. Impressive these speeches may have been, but so is a bomb exploding in a crowded street. Both men threw bombs—each after his fashion—and the effect of their action can be summed up in one word: dismay. Delegates at Flushing who tried to discuss, on its constitutional or practical merits, the Marshall proposal for parallel Assembly security machinery seemed to be wrestling with a shadow. Is it a good plan? Would Mr. Evatt's substitute plan work better? Could either be instituted without violating or rewriting the Charter? Could the Charter be changed with the veto in effect? In every mind, questions like these were overshadowed by the larger question: Was the new Marshall plan, or any proposed modification of it, more than a device to freeze the Western bloc into a U. N. within the U. N.—thereby undermining the organization as a whole without appearing to do so?

It was the French Foreign Minister, Bidault, who best expressed the profound anxiety of the other nations, caught up in the struggle of two clumsy giants prepared to force every issue to a showdown ending inevitably in stalemate. Bidault's sharpest words were directed to Vishinsky, who had accused the Western states of serving as tools of Washington by collaborating in the Marshall plan for economic aid. He denied this imputation with a vigor that time may perhaps justify; the issue is still unresolved. But on the broad problem of international cooperation, he said that France would attempt mediation and urge compromise up to the very limit of decency and honor. His central appeal was to both great powers to end their implacable hostility and begin to negotiate instead of continuing to denounce and obstruct.

Now that Mr. Marshall's proposal for a "Little Assembly" has been put on the agenda, it is likely to be adopted, since Russia's record of stubborn non-cooperation has stiffened the anti-Soviet majority. And if Mr. Vishinsky demands a vote on his resolution calling for U. N. condemnation of "criminal propaganda for a new war," it will almost surely be defeated. But the Marshall proposal will be regarded with skepticism and distaste even by those who vote yes; and those who vote against Vishinsky will do so recognizing that behind his reckless and ill-chosen accusations was a solid chunk of truth. The enthusiasm that greeted Bidault's eloquent plea for conciliation was a sign that the other Western nations understand this fact and bitterly deplore it. Even those most friendly to the United States, or most inescapably dependent upon us, would go no farther than to agree that Russia has so seriously obstructed the functioning of the existing international machinery that we had no choice but to scrap or retool it. None would assert that the Marshall proposal offered a serious hope of salvaging the U. N. as a world organization or of improving relations between West and East.

WHAT else could we do, faced with Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe, the threat of communism in Western Europe, and the Russian veto in the U. N.?

To answer that, one must ask another question. Is it established, beyond doubt, that Russia cannot be negotiated with but must either be isolated or fought? A well-known foreign correspondent, commenting on Vishinsky's speech last Thursday night over a major network, said that he and some of his fellow-correspondents had been reviewing the long series of misunderstandings between Russia and the United States in an effort to figure out where the trouble started—or started to get bad. They recognized that Russia's suspicion and intransigence had been problems even before San Francisco, but they agreed that the moment when the

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whole thing got out of hand was during the winter of 1945-46 when Byrnes abandoned the tactic of patient, friendly negotiation followed by Roosevelt, and accepted the idea of a clique of Western states. The same analysis was offered in *The Nation* on August 24, 1946, in an article by our European editor, who used these words: "It is hard to fix the precise moment when things started to deteriorate, but I believe the United Nations meeting in London last January marked the point at which mutual distrust and ill feeling began clearly to dominate the relations between Russia and the Western powers. It was there that the talk of blocs and the organization of blocs emerged as a distinct factor."

The Washington analyst believed that the Marshall proposal at Flushing Meadow was the ultimate step in this process of bloc-building begun two years ago in London, and wondered whether the time had not come, in spite of the piling up of provocations, for the United States to lay down its weapons and make a last try for peace on the Roosevelt line. The man who spoke was not a radical; he did not question the difficulties we would face, especially now that the Russians feel themselves both challenged and affronted. He only believed that no difficulties could be as alarming to contemplate as a continued cold war, crystallized in the shape of the new Marshall plan for "world peace."

[*In a second article, Miss Kirchwey will discuss ways of breaking the deadlock between Russia and the United States.*]

Duel in the U. N. Assembly

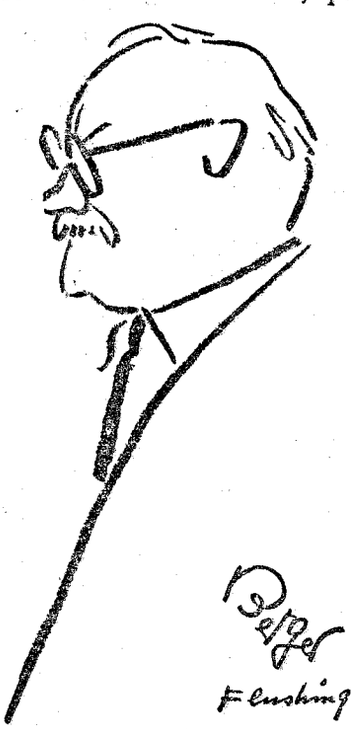
BY J. KING GORDON

Flushing Meadow Park September 20

THE day the General Assembly opened, nineteen camera men surrounded Secretary Marshall as he took his seat on the aisle on the left of the American delegation. One of them put his chin and his camera on the Secretary's desk and shot him at a point-blank range of two feet. There was little doubt about who was Number One man in the second General Assembly of the United Nations.

Marshall's speech showed quite clearly that the United States had seized the initiative which, in previous meetings, it had left to others. Even Vishinsky's spectacular diversionary foray on Thursday failed to change the picture. Throughout Mr. Vishinsky's extraordinary display of sustained oratory Marshall sat calmly, his hands folded, listening impassively to the earphones. It will be the Marshall speech that will be the focus of discussion during the next few weeks.

The crux of the speech was the proposal that an Interim Committee on Peace and Security be established by the General Assembly to meet in constant session for a year. The Assembly, under the terms of the Charter, has certain powers that parallel those of the Security Council to investigate disputes and make recommendations for a settlement. Its successful intervention in the Palestine problem effectively established this authority. Only where matters are under the active jurisdiction of the Security Council has the General Assembly no right to intervene.



Sketches made from life by Oscar Berger

Vishinsky

What opens debate on this parallel right of the Assembly is the frank recognition that the free use of the Russian veto has frustrated the actions of the Security Council. It is proposed, then, that the General Assembly, through the interim committee of the whole, attempt to function where the Security Council has failed. In a sense, this "Little Assembly" will supersede the authority of the Security Council, to which the Charter gives primary responsibility for matters of peace and security. This will be the basis of the Russian attack. As Mr. Vishinsky put it: "In spite of the reservations in the American proposal to the effect that this committee would not impinge on matters which are the primary concern of the Security Council or of special commissions, there is not the slightest doubt that the attempt to create the Interim Committee is nothing but an ill-conceived scheme to substitute and by-pass the Security Council."

But according to opinions expressed public and privately by other delegates, a large majority are convinced that it is intolerable to permit the situation created by the veto-bound Security Council to continue. The second American proposal that the veto rights of the Security Council be waived in matters which fall under Chapter VI of the Charter (dealing with conciliation and the settlement of disputes) might be considered as an alternative means of achieving the same end. The difficulty here is that such a proposal falls outside the effective jurisdiction of

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the Assembly. The liberalization of the veto would entail either an amendment to the Charter—which could be blocked by a Security Council veto—or the voluntary relinquishing of a right which the Security Council now possesses; and this action too could be blocked by a Russian refusal.

AS CAN be judged from Mr. Marshall's sharp words in defining the American position on Greece and Korea and Mr. Vishinsky's even sharper retort, these two matters are going to be the occasion of bitter debate. And on neither issue has the head of the American delegation as good a case as in the broad contention that "the untapped resources of the United Nations must be brought to bear with full effect through the General Assembly and its other organs." For in both instances the strategic interests of the two major world powers are in sharp conflict. The implementation of the Truman Doctrine in Greece and Turkey and the gross mishandling of the situation in South Korea by the American Military Government leave the United States vulnerable. The independence of the Greek and Korean people is secondary to the maintenance of American influence at critical points in the eastern Mediterranean and on the Asiatic mainland. From the American point of view these positions must be maintained as bastions against threatened Soviet expansion. From the Russian point of view Greece and Korea represent advance positions in a threatened war against the Soviet Union. No amount of debate will change these conflicting opinions.

The sober fact brought out, then, by Secretary Marshall's references to Greece and Korea, and Mr. Vishinsky's retort, is that the major world problem today is how to persuade the two giant powers that an inevitable conflict is not just in the offing. As Mr. Evatt put it in his very effective speech, unfortunately blanketed in the press by Mr. Vishinsky's:

> The first of these two objectives [of the United Nations] is the prevention of war and the substitution of methods of conciliation and arbitration for those of force and violence. We should be concerned primarily with that objective and, in a secondary way, with that of fixing the rules and conditions under which future wars may lawfully be conducted. The injury and damage that may be inflicted as a result of modern scientific invention is so vast and so rapidly extending that war, however conditioned and restricted by rules and regulations, is bound to threaten permanent devastation of the human race. Enemy No. 1 is therefore war itself.

I AM not one of those who take the view that the main intention of Mr. Marshall's proposals for an Interim Committee for Peace and Security was to begin to organize the Western world for the inevitable war. The wide disillusionment of the great majority of the nations of the world over the abortive activities of the Security Council was enough in itself to justify a drastic effort to devise new machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. But that a Russian refusal to consider any modification of the present machinery of the United Nations might lead to such a Western alliance is a development that must be faced.

Such an unhappy alternative was specifically outlined in the speech by Mr. St. Laurent, head of the Canadian delegation. He said:

> Nations in their search for peace and cooperation will not and cannot accept indefinitely and unaltered a council which was set up to insure their security, and which so many feel has become frozen in futility and divided by dissension. If forced, they may seek greater safety in associations of democratic and peace-loving states willing to accept more specific international obligations in return for greater national security. Such associations, if consistent with the principles of the Charter, can be formed within the United Nations. It is to be hoped that such a development will not be necessary.

THIS morning the news of Fiorello LaGuardia's death muffled the drums of war that had been sounding earlier in the week. The nations which had had the best opportunity of witnessing his work as head of UNRRA —Yugoslavia, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia—came forward to bear testimony to the courage and the human sympathy of this "one-world man." Delegates who had grown used to a world in which the struggle between the great powers was the single outstanding fact were reminded of yesterday, when the Allies talked of carrying through the common task of victory into the building of peace.

In the speeches of the delegates of Czechoslovakia and France there was more than a wistful harking back to the days of cooperation. Jan Masaryk and Georges Bidault, representing nations, one in the Eastern and the other in the Western bloc, asserted their right to speak as Europeans. Mr. Masaryk, after recalling the trade treaty his country had entered into with Rumania and Russia, said, "If anyone thinks that being helped by neighbors or helping them means that we are cutting ourselves off from normal economic intercourse with the whole world, he is wrong." Mr. Bidault, after challenging Mr. Vishinsky sharply on his interpretation of the Marshal plan, held out the hope that the rebuilding of Europe might still go forward as a cooperative effort of all nations.

Mr. Mazaryk reminded the representatives of the great powers "of the craving for peace throughout the world by all the little people . . . the only people worth while." Mr. Bidault, striking the same note, suggested that the men and women who worked and sacrificed to win the war think that peace, "their greatest hope, is also a simple and easy thing. . . . They are right because many

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things have been revealed to the humble which have been concealed from the powerful."

And Hector McNeil, British delegate, at the close of a speech that had its passages of blistering rebuttal to the Vishinsky charges, added an extempore postscript. "We represent," he said, "the common men to whom Mr. Masaryk referred. Their heroism, their preseverance, is the very matter of history. They are the real authors of the Charter. If we betray them, history will damn us forever."

Thus the first week ends with the issues sharply drawn. There are, however, two facts which may assume increasing importance. It is clear as one listens to the debates and moves around the corridors and the lounges that no nation wants war. It seems equally clear that the Soviet Union does not want to withdraw from the U. N.

Who Wrecked Bonneville?

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Bonneville, September 21

ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1937, Franklin D. Roosevelt dedicated Bonneville Dam. Standing on the bank of the Columbia River, at the foot of steep hills covered with fir and vine maple, he announced his decision to establish in the Pacific Northwest an agency which would seek to conserve and develop natural resources in the interest of all the people. This agency, the Bonneville Power Administration, became a dominant force in the region's great expansion of population.

A decade has passed since F. D. R., bare-headed in the sunlight of an autumn morning, prophesied that the project would bring "more wealth, better living, and greater happiness for our children." The agency which he created is in crisis now, its morale weakened, its personnel decimated, its facilities strained and in disrepair.

In ten years of existence the Bonneville Power Administration has returned to the federal treasury more revenue than any similar agency in the country. It has collected in power payments a total of $105,322,497. As the New York *Times* recently pointed out, more than one-fourth of the investment at Bonneville, including interest charges, has been paid back to the government. Yet it was gutted by the Eightieth Congress in the name of economy.

Last year Bonneville had 1,393 full-time employees to maintain and operate the largest wholesale high-voltage power network in the United States. This year the number is 851, and many of these have accepted drastic cuts in salary at a time when living costs are at an all-time high. Paradoxically, this agency which has returned such substantial sums to the national exchequer cannot draw on its own revenues.

A year ago Bonneville received $4,300,000 to service and maintain a power system extending from the Canadian boundary to northern California. This year Representative Taber and his cohorts have sliced the amount to $2,500,000. At the Oregon town of McMinnville, which has a public system entirely dependent on Columbia River energy, a bank of Bonneville transformers is so overloaded that it must be sprayed with 10,800 gallons of cold water every twenty-four hours. McMinnville expects power rationing to begin soon—this in a river valley which has 41 per cent of the potential hydro-electric reserves of the nation. Outside The Dalles, another community with public power, Bonneville insulators hang on the poles, no wires strung between them.

But worse than the system's physical impairment is what has happened to the moral climate. The heart of Bonneville has always been the Division of Resources and Development. This division made the studies which led to the partially successful efforts to shatter the aluminum monopoly. It fought against discriminatory freight rates, worked to bring steel plants to the Far West, urged increasing development of the limitless water power of the Columbia Basin to save the country's waning oil reserves. It warned of depletion of the virgin forests of the Cascades and advocated a program of perpetual yield in sawmills and logging camps.

The Division of Resources and Development made virulent enemies—men and interests influential with the members of the Eightieth Congress. The division was not merely curtailed; it was abolished. By specific act Congress wiped out its functions, authority, and personnel. It was not even allotted funds with which to box and store the files which contain the most exhaustive research ever undertaken on the potentialities of our last frontier.

Dr. Paul J. Raver, the Bonneville administrator, has fought bravely for his staff. Baited and taunted at Congressional hearings, he made an unassailable case for supporting a federal agency which has consistently shown a favorable financial balance. He pointed out that the first great industries set up in the Northwest—the Boeing aircraft plants, the Kaiser shipyards, the aluminum mills—all depend on Bonneville power, and that while

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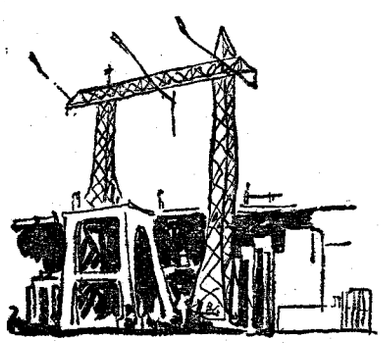
this industrialization was occurring, the population of the state of Washington increased 26 per cent, that of Oregon 33 per cent.

But Congress was not interested in facts. While spokesmen for the oil companies were warning that America might soon need Arabian oil, Congress refused to protect a domestic source of energy which will endure as long as snow mantles the great ranges of the West. Congress was out to "get" Bonneville. Bonneville symbolized Roosevelt. The Bonneville Act, drafted at the President's request by Senators Bone and McNary, specifically provided that public systems must receive preference in the sale of power—not a popular policy with the men who now rule Congress. So the Bonneville appropriation was slashed 40 per cent. Even Senator Wherry, the Republican whip, confessed, "Bonneville's fund is one item I am ashamed of."

WHO wrecked Bonneville? Part of the press in the Northwest has laid the blame on "Eastern interests," particularly on "Eastern Congressmen." This is pure fiction. Republicans from the West helped to tomahawk Bonneville. Democrats from the East tried to stave off the blow. The *Congressional Record* tells the story. On April 25 of this year the House of Representatives rejected by a vote of 197 to 140 a motion to increase the funds given Bonneville and other Department of Interior agencies. Every Democrat from New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio voted to enlarge the appropriation. Of the twenty-five Republican members from the states of the Pacific slope, only five—Russell of Nevada, Angell of Oregon, and Johnson, Poulson, and Welch of California—voted to return the utterly inadequate appropriation to committee.



Drawing by Golden

Seldom has a region had its throat cut so mercilessly by its purported representatives. The Westerner on the subcommittee that considered Bonneville's financial needs was a Republican, Lowell Stockman of Oregon. He demanded Dr. Raver's immediate resignation, insisted that additional transmission lines were not needed in the Northwest, opposed increasing the meager appropriation. Even the usually reserved *Oregon Grange Bulletin* described Stockman editorially as "Benedict Arnold, Western style." To explode the East-versus-West myth even more completely, I need only point out that the foremost champion of Bonneville on the subcommittee was Michael J. Kirwan, a Democrat from Ohio.

The lack of funds has made it necessary to take 616 permanent and part-time employees from the Bonneville pay roll. Congress, which claims to have so much sympathy for the veteran, may be interested to learn that some of these men landed at Omaha Beach or Iwo Jima. Among Bonneville's remaining employees morale has sagged. Men with families, men paying for homes, suddenly have seen that federal tenure is ephemeral indeed when Congress puts the Indian sign on an entire agency.

Among the men dropped were lifelong Republicans who had been contributing money each month to the Oregon State Republican Committee. The letters they addressed to their political party will not bear reprinting. Suffice it to say that these disillusioned people are aware of changes for the worse in the G. O. P. In 1937 the Republican Senate leader was the wise and urbane Charles L. McNary, who sponsored the Bonneville Act. Now McNary is gone, and Taft, Taber, and their counterparts reign on Capitol Hill.

Because the Bonneville Power Administration also distributes Grand Coulee power, it serves the atomic-energy plutonium works near Hanford, Washington. Columbia River hydroelectricity is vital for this final stage of the atomic process. How ironic if the Congressmen who most fear Russia should by their blind hatred of a New Deal agency cripple production of the weapon on which they rely in the event of war with the U. S. S. R.

Water power is the sole source of energy in the Northwest. The region has no oil and no coal. The virgin forests are all but gone. Bonneville's record has been impressive. In its domain the average residential rate for power is 1.7 cents a kilowatt-hour; in the nation as a whole it is 3.2 cents. Large industries on the Columbia River pay only 0.4 of a cent for power, less than half the national average.

Bonneville probably will survive the unhappy crisis which now limits its operations. But the power shortages of the next few years will keep new industries out of the Northwest; development of the fastest growing region in America will be impeded. This is a costly way for the people of the Northwest to learn that the G. O. P. does not always fulfil its pledges: in both 1940 and 1944 the Republicans promised that the great power projects constructed by the New Deal would not suffer under Republican administration.

On the tenth anniversary of the day President Roosevelt spoke on the bank of the surging river the residents of the Northwest may recall his words. His political enemies, by making their policies the opposite of his, have chosen a poor way to intrench themselves in power.

Coming Next Week

Hunger and Politics in Italy

BY MARIO ROSSI

Nation Correspondent in Rome

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Race and Politics in South Africa

BY MICHAEL S. COMAY

Capetown, South Africa, September

ALMOST every week a batch of emigrants leaves the bleakness of Mr. Attlee's Britain for the sunshine, the fruit, the black servants, the easy living—for whites—of Marshal Smuts's South Africa. They have totaled more than 25,000 persons in the past year or so. So far they have been easily absorbed; war-time prosperity still lasts, and there is talk of further big expansion in the goldfields and in industry. In farming, however, there are few opportunities for the man without money or training, and unskilled work is done by the non-whites.

Newcomers find the political situation depressing. Afrikaner (Boer) nationalism is still an active and undigested force, and the color question is becoming not only difficult to manage at home but also more subject to criticism from abroad. In the general elections next year Dr. Malan's Nationalist Party, which now holds nearly a third of the seats, will make a bid for power. Malan can hardly succeed, but he is likely to wipe out much of the lead which Smuts piled up in the last election. The Nationalists have shrewdly soft-pedaled anti-British and anti-Jewish slogans and concentrated on two safer targets—blacks and reds. Their pro-Nazi war-time attitude may well be overlooked by business men who grouse at a few controls and by housewives inconvenienced by a few shortages.

Smuts is seventy-four years old. His heir apparent is J. H. Hofmeyr, now Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister. Hofmeyr, not yet fifty, is in some ways an even abler man than his chief. But he is not personally popular, and what is worse, he is more "liberal" than Smuts on the color question. (In South Africa it is political abuse to call anyone a liberal.) He will be hard put to keep intact a United Party which is a disunited mixture of Britons, Afrikaners, and Jews, of town and country people, of farmers, merchants, and mine owners. If this unwieldy party breaks up it may let the Nationalists in. Or a new center bloc may emerge, combining the more conservative of the Marshal's followers with the less fanatical Malanites. In that case, the man most likely to emerge as leader of the new group is Klaas Havenga, for fifteen years Minister of Finance under General Hertzog. Always a steady, middle-of-the-road man, Havenga has now suddenly left his farm and joined up with Malan, thus strengthening the latter's new "moderate" claims. He may intend to use the Nationalists as a stepping-stone, but it is more likely that they will use him as a catspaw.

MICHAEL S. COMAY was born in South Africa and became a practicing barrister in Capetown. He served for six years with the South African forces during the war and represented South Africa at the conference on British Commonwealth relations at London in 1945. He is now living in Jerusalem, after a recent trip to South Africa.

AFRIKANERS AND JEWS

Whether the Nationalists play up the "Jewish problem" or play it down, it remains an important weapon in their armory. They have carefully disowned out-and-out Nazi groups such as the Oxwagon Sentinels, modeled on the S. S., and the New Order group of Oswald Pirow. But they have behind them a more sinister body. It is called the Brotherhood, and is a reactionary secret society of some 2,000 men in key positions in the administration, the professions, the schools, and the church.

The Nationalists are trying to split the unions on racial lines. Since the small Communist Party is active in many unions and since a number of Jews are active in the Communist Party, it is not difficult to make the danger of "Judeo-Bolshevism" seem real. In the middle-class urban occupations ordinary competition does the trick. The 100,000 Jews in South Africa are concentrated in business, law, and medicine and enjoy a high standard of living. It is natural that young Afrikaners, now flocking from the farms to the towns, should resent the Jews' intrenched position.

As a rule, however, the Afrikaner is an easygoing individual, with no traditional aversion to Jews. And of course the Jew is a white man and therefore, in the last resort, one of the privileged minority. The Jews in South Africa today are not under any real pressure, though they have a sense of insecurity and indulge in a lot of worried talk; but things could easily go wrong if the country's economic situation deteriorated.

While the political anti-Semitism of the Afrikaner has been damped down, the social and commercial anti-Semitism of the English has risen sharply. Of late it has made much of the terrorism in Palestine. About Palestine, curiously enough, the Afrikaner press takes quite a different line from the English press. It shows a certain fellow-feeling for another little people struggling with the same imperial power against which the Boers fought and lost their own war. But coupled with the demand that the Jews be let into Palestine is

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the even stronger demand that they be kept out of South Africa. An astonishing fuss has been made about the tiny number of Jewish refugees allowed to join relatives in South Africa—75 in 1945 and 303 in 1946.

REPRESSION OF THE NON-WHITES

Politics in South Africa are the pastime of a little over two million "Europeans" (whites). Of every 100 whites 55 are Afrikaner, 35 are English, 5 are Jews, and 5 are of other races. Only whites can enter Parliament, and, with some exceptions, only they can vote. Outside this charmed circle stand eight million blacks, nearly a million Cape colored (Eurafricans), and a quarter-million Indians—forming 80 per cent of the population.

Marshal Smuts

The situation is quite comparable to that in the Southern United States. In many ways the Jim Crow pattern is similar, although it has a different background. White South Africans conquered the blacks only after a century of Kaffir wars and are still outnumbered by them four to one. There is always the vague fear among whites that if they relax their repression for a moment, their "white civilization" will be swamped.

What is South Africa's native policy? A generation ago men spoke of "segregation," but that is dead. For better or worse, millions of blacks have broken away from the tribal reserves and the tribal folkways to become farm laborers and menial town workers. This dusky proletariat is the base of South Africa's economic pyramid. Push the black out, and the whole structure will tumble down. The fashionable by-word is now "trusteeship," which means improving the black man's appalling living conditions without giving him political rights or upsetting the master-servant relationship.

The present set-up is by no means static. The mines and the farms are worked by cheap black labor, but this does not suit the new industrialist, who wants effective local markets even at the expense of the cherished economic discrimination. A few of the more enlightened mine owners are breaking with the bad old system of compounds and planning model villages where miners can live in decency with their families. Political liberalism is a dying creed in South Africa, but the belief is growing that a measure of economic emancipation can be squared with white interests.

In discussions about the black man's future it is often overlooked that he may have something to say about it himself. He is picking up white ways fairly fast and becoming less docile. One political safety-valve is an advisory council of prominent "natives" which is supposed to be consulted about bills directly affecting the blacks. Weary of the farce of "advising," this council now refuses to meet. The natives are also beginning to boycott the elections for their representatives—three white members of the House and four white Senators, who honestly speak up for their colored constituents but are powerless to bring about any marked changes.

What may be more important than such political devices is that native workers are forming their own unions. These have a curious status: they are not illegal, but they are not recognized as negotiating agencies under the labor laws. They have nevertheless shown themselves capable of running big strikes.

The most depressed class in the country is black farm labor. Many of its members work for a bag of cornmeal and ten shillings (two dollars) a month. Yet to leave the farms in order to seek other employment is a prison offense. On the other hand, actual physical brutalities sit uneasily on the public conscience, and last July a succession of floggings by Transvaal farmers caused a nation-wide uproar. Lynch law is unknown.

SMUTS AND THE U. N.

The South African color-caste system, having yielded very little to internal pressure, is now under serious attack from the outside world. White opinion in the Union was not so much angry as bewildered by Smuts's double defeat in the U. N. Assembly—on the Southwest Africa mandate and the South African Indians.

That Southwest Africa will become part of the Union of South Africa is inevitable. For all practical purposes it is that already. The U. N. refused to approve the formal change because of the Union's color policy. Smuts in turn refused to put the territory under U. N. trusteeship and has taken steps to incorporate it de facto. He has, for instance, given its white population direct representation in the Union Parliament. By such measures he may legally be able to defy the U. N.; none the less, he has put his country in an embarrassing position.

The two new Indian dominions will doubtless continue to harass Smuts. A quarter-million South African Indians are concentrated in Natal, having been brought in originally to work the sugar plantations. It was as their champion that a young lawyer called Gandhi first took up the weapon of passive resistance. Since then the Indians have advanced their standard of living to a degree and a few of them have become wealthy, but they have been denied political rights and their "penetration" into white sections has been "pegged." Both restraints were incorporated in a special bill passed last

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year. As in the Palestine land laws, settlement and property-buying are dealt with in three zones—Indian, white, and mixed. Indians have a limited voice in local government; they have two seats in the Natal Provincial Council, and are represented by four whites in the Union Parliament. But like the blacks they are boycotting the whole business.

It is going to be hard for South Africa to maintain its color policies in a world society which is mainly non-white. Its delegate at Flushing Meadow sits at the same table with brown and yellow men, and even with black Africans from Ethiopia and Liberia. Some outraged South Africans want to withdraw from the U. N. altogether.

Prosperity—How Long Will It Last?

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

WE STILL have prosperity: profits are exorbitant and unemployment is low, even though workers are less well off because wages have not kept pace with rising prices. In his recent report President Truman said: "Americans today live in a richer and more productive economy . . . than ever before in peace-time history." But the fact that we have prosperity today does not assure our having it tomorrow.

"The United States has produced and consumed more goods . . . in proportion to population than ever before in its history. Our standard of living has therefore been the highest in our history and is, of course, the highest in the world." These words are taken, not from the Truman report, but from the 1926 Annual Report of the Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover. Three years later we had the worst economic crisis in our history.

There are several significant ways in which the situation today differs for the worse from the situation in the years before the crash of 1929. Then there was peace and, what is even more important, no visible threat of war on any horizon—Hitler's rise to power was four years off. Then American military expenditures were negligible, amounting to about $500,000,000 a year, less than 1 per cent of the annual national income. In the array of forces which produced the crisis of 1929 military expenditures played almost no role.

Before 1929, although the United States had already started its career as a creditor nation, its loans to other countries were still comparatively modest: from 1919 through 1929 foreign loans floated in the United States provided some $7,500,000,000 of new capital to other countries, according to "The United States in World Economy" (Department of Commerce, 1943). In the same period average annual exports of American capital amounted to no more than $1,000,000,000, and our export surpluses were about the same.

What about today? The Truman report was published approximately two years after the ending of the Second World War, but we are not really at peace. Our economy reflects this uneasy situation. We are in a *truce* economy. Our military expenditures are no longer limited to $500,000,000 annually, as in the years before the crash, or to $1,000,000,000, as before the Second World War. They range somewhere between $11,000,000,000 and $14,000,000,000. It is impossible to give exact figures since a realistic military budget would include not only expenditures for the army and navy but enormous indirect expenditures, such as the costs of scientific research and the stockpiling of raw materials which are essential for industrial mobilization in modern warfare. Taking it all together, we are spending about twenty times as much for our military establishment as in 1929.

That is only one difference. The position of the United States in the markets of the world has also changed. Today the United States is *the only great power* that is exporting capital; the other powers have stepped out of the ranks of creditor nations. When the Marshall plan gets under way next spring—if it does—the amount will be multiplied to an unpredictable total. As for exports, at the moment we are sending abroad an export surplus valued at $1,000,000,000 a month—as much, in other words, as we formerly did in a year.

Let's lump together some of these figures. Before the crash of 1929 American military expenditures plus American export surpluses amounted to about $1,500,000,000 a year. Today military expenditures plus export surpluses come to about $25,000,000,000 a year, almost seventeen times the pre-crash amount. It is probable, in the light of events abroad, that our military expenditures will be maintained at least at their present level. It is not likely that our export surpluses will remain very much longer at the unprecedented level of $12,000,000,000 a year. This level was made possible only by the fact that foreign countries, in addition to cutting down their long-term credits, were drawing heavily upon their gold balances and their short-term dollar holdings as well. Naturally, that can happen only once and, as the present situation in England and France shows, for a very short time.

FRITZ STERNBERG, a German economist now living in this country, is the author of "The Coming Crisis."

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Yet increased American exports are largely responsible for our recent increase in production. The Truman report says: "This increase in the annual rate of the net foreign balance constituted about three-fourths of the increase in the annual rate of the total gross national product from the last quarter of 1946 to the first quarter of 1947." Since prices have gone up so fast and so far that the real income of many laborers and white-collar workers has been seriously lowered, our rising production can be accounted for only by the tremendous increase in exports for which foreign countries did not pay in goods.

In other words, this country's very expensive prosperity is precariously balanced on an export surplus which cannot long be maintained unless foreign countries are supplied with enough dollars to keep our factories producing. Will the Marshall plan support that "richer and more productive economy" the United States is now enjoying? Not unless Congress authorizes expenditures far in excess of any sums yet mentioned. Indeed, present estimates fall so far short of our present export surpluses that the London *Economist* recently remarked, "By no possible stretch of the imagination can it be conceived that aid under the Marshall plan will be of such magnitude as to make possible continuation of an excess of exports of anything like $1,000,000,000 a month."

Today, when military expenditures together with export surpluses—which in great measure are instruments of foreign policy—amount to $25,000,000,000 annually, it is easy to see that American foreign policy has taken on a new and decisive importance. When we consider our unique prosperity and inquire, "How long will it last?" we are asking not a purely economic question but a political one as well.

Poland Today

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

IV. The New Lands

Wroclaw (Breslau), September

I HAVE spent the last month traveling in the new or, as the Poles call them, the "recovered" northwestern and western territories of Poland. An old German Baedeker I have with me explains that the original name for Breslau was "the Old Polish Wroclaw," and innumerable place names in these parts are meaningless German corruptions of descriptive Polish names. Thus the German Kolberg in Pomerania was formerly and is now again called Kolobrzeg, which means "Near the Coast." Pommern (Pomerania) was derived from Pomorze, which means "Along the Sea." The Poles love giving you these little lectures in etymology. Archaeology is also sometimes invoked: for instance, I was shown the eleventh-century Polish foundations under the fifteenth-century German castle at Stettin. I suspect, however, that many Poles who use these etymological and and archaeological arguments do so with their tongue in their cheek, knowing perfectly well that but for Germany's total defeat and its earlier decision to annihilate Poland, the question of Poland's "recovery" of eastern Germany would never have arisen. Stettin and Breslau were obviously German cities until 1945.

The Poles do not like the theory that the annexation of eastern Germany was "compensation" for the territories they lost to Russia. Apart from the familiar "historical" arguments, they prefer to regard the annexed lands as reparations, or even as a sort of revenge for the temporary obliteration of Poland from the map of Europe. The Germans are, indeed, getting some of their own medicine, for who if not they started the mass transfers of populations? Were not the provinces of Lodz and Poznan cleared of Poles and formally annexed by the Reich? There is also this: during their occupation of Poland the Germans aroused such passionate hatred that any possibility of a future friendly democratic Germany struck the Poles as something remote and almost purely theoretical. Whether or not it was "excessive" to take, say, Stettin, whether the Germans hated the Poles 5 per cent more or 5 per cent less, did not matter; they would make war on Poland if they had a chance. It is said that former Vice-Premier Mikolajczyk did not much favor the present frontier but in deference to popular feeling on the subject associated himself with the Polish protest against the Marshall-Bevin suggestion that the question of the border be "reconsidered." The view now held in authoritative British quarters in Warsaw is that since the Polish government has settled nearly five million people in the new territories, it would be futile to start pushing them out again; Poland would only be driven farther into the arms of Russia.

The fact that Russian strategic considerations had much to do with the fixing of the new frontier is not overlooked by the Poles, but that does not lessen their determination to keep what they have. It seems clear that the Russians will maintain some forces in the trans-Oder bridgeheads. In Swinemünde, for instance, which used to be something like a Coney Island for Berlin, I found their troops solidly established, with wives and families. They were living a strictly segregated existence in a part

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of the town separated from the rest by barbed wire, but I noticed that the soldiers' wives were pushing little German-made prams—in Russia babies are carried in the arms—and enjoying other products of Western culture. The Poles may not like the presence of the Russians, and occasionally there are anti-Russian incidents, but in general they feel that the Russians are there to protect them against the Germans or against anyone who would use the Germans against them.

The completely easy and natural attitude of the Poles in the new territories made a strong impression on me. Already they seem to feel completely at home. On a Saturday night Stettin resounds with Polish songs—some of them toughly anti-Russian—and Polish rowdyism. Railroad trains are packed with Polish school children and working people going to rest homes and bathing resorts in Pomerania for their paid holidays.

ONE of the great questions affecting the whole European economy is whether the Poles, with a population of twenty-four million, will be able to integrate the new territories into their own economy. After traveling for a month in these parts I can say that they have made remarkable progress toward that end. Everywhere I saw evidence that not lack of settlers but lack of housing was the great obstacle to development of the new lands. Where the fighting had been heavy and many villages were destroyed, there were many fallow fields. "We can't expect new settlers to live in dugouts," say the Polish resettlement authorities. There is also a great shortage of work horses and stock. Some tractors have been provided by UNRRA.

Between Kolberg and Köslin, where hardly a house is left standing, I traveled through miles of thistles. On the other hand, around Stargard and Naugard, east of Stettin, I saw hundreds of prosperous farms of ten to twenty acres well run by farmers from central Poland and beyond the Curzon line. They were living in good solid German houses and seemed thoroughly contented. There may still be some reluctance to settle too close to the border—partly for this reason the border zone is being "reserved" for soldiers still to be demobilized from the Polish army—but a little farther away there seems complete confidence that this "is and will remain Poland." One Pomeranian farmer, originally from Vilno, said to me, "The roads and houses are better than around Vilno, though the soil and climate are not so good; but if I thought the Germans would come again, I'd not take the trouble to breed these pigs."

Stettin province, which constitutes the greater part of Pomerania, had nearly two million inhabitants before the war; now it contains 800,000 Poles and 120,000 Germans. The Germans, most of them women and children, are being sent to Germany at the rate of about 2,000 a day. While 72,000 Polish farms have been set up in the province, state farms still hold about 40 per cent of the arable land. Most of these state farms will in due course be split up among the peasants; two-thirds of the total arable land of one million hectares will have been distributed by the end of next year. It is claimed that by 1949 there will be no land left fallow.

To revive important industrial cities like Danzig, Stettin, and Breslau much new machinery is needed. The destruction here was far worse than in Upper Silesia, and many of the factories that survived the bombings were dismantled by the Russians. You could not find two more lively and cheerful cities than Gdansk (Danzig) and Gdynia. The Poles revel in being "on the sea again." They recall "all that nonsense of the Polish corridor and the Free City of Danzig" and rejoice that "it is all Poland now." The beautiful old city of Danzig is dead, but the harbor has been brought back to life. Gdynia, after being almost completely wrecked, has also been largely rebuilt. The capacity of the two ports is now 70 per cent restored.

IN LOWER SILESIA resettlement has been on an even greater scale than in Pomerania. Breslau is 70 per cent destroyed and Glogau and other towns 100 per cent, but a new life is rising from the ruins. Already 200,000 people are living in Breslau, as against 600,000 before the war. Some 7,000 students are attending the university and the celebrated Polytechnic Institute which was moved here bodily from Lwow; factories are turning out 1,000 railways carriages a month; an excellent opera company and several theaters, one of them playing Shaw, attract large audiences. Incidentally, I heard Poles speak of the Russians with greater warmth in Breslau, for which the Russians and Germans fought so furiously for three months, than anywhere else.

If half of the country north of Breslau is fallow, it is because so many towns and villages have been destroyed. The latecomers from Lwow who have settled here in the few intact houses are living rather miserably, though not without hope. One of the men spoke nostalgically of his two hectares of black soil near Lwow, which he said "were worth more than ten hectares here." But such conditions are not typical. In the less devastated areas near the Czech border every inch of ground was cultivated, and the people were living in good houses in picturesque towns and villages. Over a million and a half Poles live in Lower Silesia now. The 100,000 remaining Germans, like their fellow-countrymen in Pomerania, are being sent to the Soviet zone of Germany.

There are three forms of land tenure in Silesia, apart from the state farms: the individual farm; the cooperative farm of ten families or more—after five years it must be divided up among the members; and the group settlement, which combines a system of instalment payments with a state grant—20 per cent of the peasant's

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earnings go into the group fund, the state puts in 25 per cent, and at the end of five years the peasant receives the capital he needs to equip his plot of land.

Silesia is not quite the show place I was led by some in Warsaw to expect. There is much hardship still among the new settlers, and many difficulties must be overcome before the country can produce anything like its possible maximum. But when I recall the desolate stretches of Silesia in 1945 and compare them with the present scene, I am convinced that the Poles have not wasted their first two post-war years. If this economic progress continues at the same rate, and no internal or external political complications intervene, Poland should be on the high road to prosperity in two or three years. The reconstruction of the big cities, however, especially Warsaw, Wroclaw, and Gdansk, will be a long and arduous task which can only be hastened by large foreign credits.

Bolivia's Two Worlds

BY JOHN H. GROEL

La Paz, Bolivia, August 29

THROUGHOUT its 122 years of troubled independence, Bolivia has faithfully adhered to the eighteenth-century physicians' cure for all ailments—bloodletting. A little more than a year ago the people of La Paz resorted once again to the old formula. This time, however, it was no traditional revolt. Neither palace plotters nor politically ambitious military gentlemen were its leaders. It was a revolution fought by an aroused citizenry, determined to free itself of Gualberto Villaroel, the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario, and a regime which had made terror the law of the land. Because it was their revolution, the people had reason to hope that this time the bloodletting would not be in vain.

Through their sacrifice Bolivia has been able to take at least two firm steps toward greater democracy. On January 5 the nation celebrated the new year with one of the freest elections in decades. The victorious candidate, Dr. Enrique Hertzog, recently furthered the democratic cause by accepting members of opposition parties in a Cabinet dedicated to national unity. As a result, optimistic Bolivians and their friends abroad feel that democracy is at last adapting itself to life in the rarefied atmosphere of the Altiplano—that mountain-walled world that is the heart of the Bolivian nation.

Yet in spite of undeniable progress during the past year, Bolivia is much farther from achieving anything like a working democracy than most of its friends care to admit. Even the January elections, honest though they were, could not be called democratic ones. They mirrored the will of only a small fraction of Bolivians. Three-quarters of the population were automatically barred from the polls because they could not read or write. Of those who were literate, perhaps one-half were women, still without the vote. Under these conditions, no more than 12 per cent of the people, at best, could have taken part in the balloting. One important Bolivian newspaper, in fact, concluded that the January results were determined by but 2 per cent of the nation.

Thus political power in Bolivia is a commodity possessed by a very few men. Those men belong to the white world. There is, however, another and much larger world in Bolivia—the world of the Indian and mestizo, who together form about 75 per cent of the population. They are the workers of the nation. They toil in the tin mines of Catavi, in the copper mines of Corocoro, in all the mines of this mineral-rich land, to produce the raw materials which Bolivia sends abroad to purchase the food and manufactured goods the people must have. On the great Bolivian Altiplano the rock-strewn soil is tilled with wooden sticks and hand plows of Incan design. The dwarfed potatoes, barley, and *quinuoa* raised are carried by the Indians or by llama and burro to the markets of La Paz, Oruro, and Cochabamba.

The Indians and mestizos seldom own the land they cultivate. Their position in agriculture is little higher than that of draft animals. Their only pay is usually the right to live in a small adobe hut and till a patch of soil for themselves. A form of feudal dues frequently binds them to give personal service in the city homes of the hacienda owners. Their ordinary dress is rags, and their food may be little more than a handful of toasted corn.

The plight of the mine workers has often been described in terrible detail. It is bad enough, but the position of the Indian enslaved in agriculture is far worse. Both groups are frequently attacked by white Bolivians and foreigners alike for their vices—coca-chewing, drunkenness, unreliability, and an addiction to long and often brutally orgiastic fiestas. Yet these are simply the inevitable responses to filth, ignorance, and hopelessness.

With all the abuse that may be heaped upon him,

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the Indian remains the chief producer of wealth for the Bolivian nation. Individually, he may do little, and that little quite inefficiently, but collectively he supports the national economy. Yet he has neither economic nor political rights. Barred from the polls for illiteracy, he is left with no peaceful method of expressing his wishes and needs. Burdened by semi-feudal obligations and untaught in the ways of politics, he is the raw material of which revolutions are made.

SINCE March of this year the Hertzog regime has unearthed at least two revolutionary plots. Both of them called for strikes and violence by Indian laborers in the mines and on the haciendas. Early in the year the natives of Los Andes, a province of La Paz, refused to work. Property owners, they said, had failed to support schools on the large haciendas, as required by law. At the end of May La Paz police raided the headquarters of the Federación Obrera Local to arrest more than seventy "agitators" accused of urging the Indians of the Altiplano into bloody uprisings. The F. O. L., which has Trotzkyite leanings and is accused of relations with the discredited Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario, retaliated by declaring a general strike of its rural members. The union claims that its sole purpose has been to organize these Indians for legitimate purposes: to obtain more schools, wages in money, and a fair redistribution of the land.

Whatever the truth may be, the strike brought terror to the Altiplano, where drunken natives killed at least four whites, including a nineteen-year-old girl who was attacked and terribly beaten by her assailants. Representing the propertied classes, the Bolivian Society of Rural Landowners was quick to demand that President Hertzog deal out immediate punishment to the *cabecillas*—the Indian leaders—of the movement. The Women's Civic Association of La Paz organized a public protest meeting against such a violation of the honor of Bolivian womanhood but failed to protest against the conditions which make men capable of such crimes.

In replying to the indignant citizens, President Hertzog revealed himself as a man willing to voice unpopular truths. He pointed out that the uprisings were due to the exploitation and cruelty to which the Indians were subjected by certain landowners. He went on to say that he considered himself the President of all Bolivians, not of one single class, and he promised that his government would dedicate itself to ending abuses which inevitably bring a violent reaction from the oppressed natives.

None the less, the Hertzog regime has taken one step which carries with it possibilities of grave injustice. Without benefit of trial, it has sent a group of Indian agitators to the remote tropical region of Ichilo, ostensibly for colonizing purposes. According to the government, the exiled Indians will be given adequate health protection and the tools and guidance needed to build up homesteads. The suspicion remains, however, that the highland Indians are going to their deaths. Ichilo is notoriously unhealthful; it abounds in malarial areas, and the inhabitants of the Altiplano are poorly adapted to life in the lowlands. To be successful, the Ichilo venture will require much planning and expert assistance, neither of which is apparent at the moment.

Whatever the government's intentions may be, the uprisings continue and appear to be spreading from the Altiplano to the valleys of Chuquisaca. Perhaps they can be suppressed by force. But fear of the Indians will plague Bolivia's ruling classes until they are willing to risk their monopoly of political and economic power by guiding the natives out of feudalism.

THE Indian problem is, of course, enormous. It cannot be solved overnight. It will never be solved by accepting the myth that the Bolivian natives—Aymarás and Quechuas alike—are incapable of progress and addicted to filth and poverty. That is a myth created by men whose centuries-old position of privilege is threatened. Historically, the Quechuas proved their capabilities by forging the great Incan empire; the Aymarás formed an important part of that realm. Since those remote times both groups have been degraded by the white man's conquests, but they have given repeated evidence of their anxiety to move out of degradation.

Their faith in education is childlike in its sincerity. At Caquiaviri, they voluntarily spent over 150,000 work hours in the construction of school buildings. The American- and Bolivian-financed Educational Foundation is receiving astonishing cooperation from the Indians in its attempt to develop a practical program of rural education. The students, organized into community-improvement clubs, leave their classes to build latrines, animal pens, and drainage ditches.

On the shores of Lake Titicaca, not far from the Straits of Tiquina, is another answer to those who claim that the Indian cannot be brought out of his windowless adobe hut into a better way of life. Here, sprinkled about the green countryside, are neatly whitewashed cottages, complete with tiled roofs and glassed windows —the homes of Indians who have learned through the work of North American missionaries that some of the white men's customs are worthy of adoption. They live like men. And the change is apparent in their faces, which are much brighter and more alert than their depressed, coca-chewing brothers.

The truth is that too many members of the dominant white and semi-white world do not wish to find an answer to the Indian problem. Every effort to educate the natives and to improve their lot is systematically undermined. Only 20 per cent of the national education appropriation goes to rural projects. At the same time a large

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part of the government's income is spent to maintain an army whose chief purposes have been to put down native uprisings and intervene in revolutions.

Happily, there are some signs of change. The present government at least realizes the gravity of the Indian problem. President Hertzog has been courageous enough to place the blame where it legitimately belongs—not on the agitators who take advantage of social injustice, but on the landowners who by their cruel shortsightedness drive the natives into brutal reprisals. Moreover, intellectuals and labor groups are leading a movement to organize the army as a useful social unit which would devote itself chiefly to the task of building roads and bridges, so essential to the transport of agricultural products. Among the youth of the nation one senses a genuine revolt against unbridled militarism and a commendable determination to lessen the gap between the world of the white man and the purgatory of the Indian.

There will be no miracles in Bolivia. Political stability and democracy are goals for the future and not realities of today. They will not become realities until the Bolivian Indian is regarded as a man rather than a beast of burden.

New Wine in Old Bottles

BY CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

RADIO has once more made the headlines. Prodded by public agitation and by the "Blue Book" strictures of the Federal Communications Commission, it has developed a welcome mood of self-reform. Its trade association, the National Association of Broadcasters, has just published "a new code of standards of practice." (This code was printed in the New York *Times* of Tuesday, September 9, or may be obtained from the N. A. B. in Washington.) Adoption of the code, pending discussion of its terms and of certain legalities, will be deferred for some weeks. It will be a thousand pities if, meanwhile, the listener fails to give it sympathetic, critical examination.

The code has three sections, two of which particularly merit public consideration. The third, dealing with commercial policies, will not be discussed in this article. In the first section radio makes its deferential bow to conventional standards of propriety and morals. Institutions of religion are to be respected. (Atheists, by implication—and in defiance of the FCC—are not to be allowed air time.) The sanctity of marriage is to be sustained. "Brutal killings, tortures, or physical agony should never be presented in detail [*sic*]. . . . Sex crimes—seductions, rape, etc.—and sex abnormalities are not desirable subjects. . . . Profane, salacious, obscene, vulgar, or indecent material should not be broadcast." Nothing much, here, for comment—unless you care to ask why such "Keep Off the Grass" signs still need posting.

Section Two covers "standards for specific programs." News, politics, controversy, religion, crime, mystery, and children's programs are dealt with successively. Among many welcome—and some possibly debatable—provisions of this section the following deserves emphasis: "Broadcasters should be at all times responsible for the control of the content and format and presentation of all news-commentary and news-analysis broadcasts. In no circumstances should such responsibility be delegated to a sponsor. . . ." This is admirable—in so far as it restores program responsibility to the broadcaster, where it belongs. Many listeners believe, though it is not true, that William Shirer left the air because his sponsor disliked his liberal opinions. The new code, if observed, removes the possibility of such suspicion. It does not, however, assure us that news commentators will now be exempt from restrictions on the free expression of their point of view by a station or network. One hopes that such assurance will be given.

Very welcome is the provision that "broadcasters should exercise particular discrimination in the acceptance and placement of commercial announcements on news programs. Special care should be used to avoid those sound effects, singing commercials, or other devices which, while acceptable in programs [*sic*], would not be appropriate when used in connection with news programming." But the code goes farther: No "middle commercial" is to be allowed in newscasts or commentaries of less than fifteen minutes. Note this, too: "Commercial announcements in connection with news programs *should be distinctly set apart* from the news content." This raises high hopes. Can it mean that Gabriel Heatter can no longer slide—with, oh, so slight a variant inflection—from the subject of starving Europe to the virtues of hair tonic?

On the treatment of controversial issues the code

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is less clear and explicit than one could wish. "Time for the presentation of public questions, including those of controversial nature, should be allotted with due regard to all other elements of balanced program schedules, and to the degree of public interest in the questions to be presented." What does this gobbledygook mean? What is "due regard" to all other "elements of balanced program schedules"? Are Hooperatings to be the criterion of the amount of controversy that we get? If so, we may be in for less than is at present provided. Is public interest, at any given time, the measure of a subject's importance? Or is public interest aroused in proportion to the prominence which planned publicity accords a subject? It looks as if radio were here trying to perpetuate the heresy that it is wholly subservient to its audience. This is false—and disingenuous—modesty, a half-truth with dangerous implications. Radio, like other mass media, creates as much as it reflects interest. Like the statesman, or even the politician, its function is to be leader as well as servant of the public.

Another provision of this section raises nice questions: "The presentation of viewpoints in connection with controversial public issues should be confined to periods or programs specifically designed for that purpose." Does this mean that expression of controversial opinion, which means neither more nor less than individual opinion, is to be confined to forums, round tables, and the like? Specifically, is opinion to be excluded from news commentaries? Does it mean that Fulton Lewis will report only facts? Does it imply that Monsignor Sheen's recent — unanswered — philippics against communism, broadcast as a series of religious talks, are to be the last of their kind?

Perhaps we misread here the intention of the code. But it would seem that the gains and losses of this edict need to be carefully appraised. In so far as it precludes the further use of air time for the unchallenged expression of prejudiced opinion it offers us pure gain. If, on the other hand, it means the roping off of controversy within a "restricted area" of air time, it threatens the expansion of the free market place of thought. We need more and better controversy, not less. It should permeate most programs, as it permeates most of life. Controversy is troublesome. It is not calculated to "make friends," but it is a way "to influence people."

The danger of this proposal is well illustrated by a later provision of the code: "Religious broadcasts should place major emphasis on broad religious truths. They should not be used for the presentation of controversial questions." The practice of keeping truth "broad" enough to divorce it from practical living has a long and disreputable history. A king once claimed it of a turbulent priest, one Thomas à Becket. It is what Hitler demanded of Niemöller.

In its handling of crime and mystery and of children's programs the code leans, as in Section One, on popular convention and cultural myth as well as on the use of safe but equivocal terms. "Criminals should always be punished either specifically or by implication." Again we confront avoidance of reality. Then, children's programs: these should be "based upon sound social concepts . . . contribute to healthy personality development . . . provide opportunities not only for entertainment but also for cultural growth." And "no program or episode should contain material . . . which will create in the child's mind morbid suspense or other harmful reactions." Who is to be judge? Parents in general? Psychiatrists or social workers or teachers? Fortunately for broadcasters, there is no common mind on this question of influence and effects. Under the shelter of fine phrases radio can still get away with what to many will seem murder.

All this is not to disparage the code but rather to emphasize the range, the real complexity, and the broad social implications of the problems which daily confront broadcasters. The new code is an important, if belated, forward step. Those who believe in the American system of broadcasting have always maintained that it is safe and sound only as the three partners in this great enterprise—the industry, the FCC, the listening public—fulfil their respective roles. The lead is now where it should always have been—with the industry. Had the code been drafted long ago, it would have made at least some of the strictures in the Blue Book redundant.

It is still far from satisfactory, and an important condition attaches to its value and relevance to listeners. Will it be honored? Is this another paper front? The previous code was much honored in the breach. Can we have higher hopes for this one?

This, at least, can be said: the N. A. B. enjoys greater prestige today than perhaps at any previous time. Its membership is larger. All four networks and a significant majority of independent stations belong. But it remains a voluntary trade association without power to enforce its rulings—other than the power of its prestige and the support that it can muster from the listening public. That is why responsible public comment on the code and a wide canvassing of opinion on its provisions are important. The radio industry alone is not involved. Listening is in a sense at stake. The N. A. B., to its credit, conceived the code. Listeners can help in its refinement and correction. It is high time that they—and not least the so-called intelligentsia—took a hand in this game. For it is being played for high stakes.

Drawing by Golden

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Del Vayo—Strength of the French Left

HOW the French left fares in the October municipal elections will depend, in the final analysis, on the strength of the two major working-class parties, the Socialists and the Communists. Only by a generous stretch of the imagination can the Radicals be considered leftists; the presence of a man like Daladier in their parliamentary bloc is a stigma they will not easily erase. And though the Trotskyites are stronger in France than in any other country of Europe, one cannot speak of them seriously as a party capable of influencing the outcome of the elections.

As the campaign opens, the Socialists find themselves laboring under a double handicap. In the first place, they are the government party—but without a majority; and in the second place, their ranks are split wide open. A Socialist, Vincent Auriol, is President of the Republic; another, Paul Ramadier is Prime Minister. But while their position of leadership has undoubtedly enhanced the prestige of the Socialists, it has at the same time exposed them to criticism and attack. The average Frenchman, like the average citizen anywhere, is inclined to blame the government for all his present miseries.

In the nine months since he became Premier, Ramadier has been confronted with more crucial problems than any of his predecessors since the liberation. Living costs have soared, and the Blum experiment of decreeing two 5 per cent price cuts made no break in the inflationary spiral. The franc is back at 300 to the dollar in the black market. Industrial output is good, considering the lack of coal and the dollar famine which has forced France to slash imports of raw materials. But with winter only a few months away, production has been slowed by a wave of strikes in protest against the high cost of living and the food shortage. The "bread strikes" that broke out in some sections of Paris a few weeks ago, following the cut in the ration, quickly spread to Clermont-Ferrand, Lyon, Lille, and other important industrial centers. The Socialist ministers were in the unenviable position of having to pit their strength against workers who were asking only for a little more food in order to increase their efficiency—strikers who had worked unceasingly for two years to lift France's economy out of the ruins of war.

The Ramadier Cabinet is also identified with a new, unpopular shift in French foreign policy. Backed strongly by public opinion, the government was until recently intransigent in its opposition to the American plan for reviving German industry; now under pressure from Washington it is gradually becoming more amenable.

In France, where the people have reached a high degree of political maturity, a Socialist leader must possess a number of qualities: he must be an intellectual of high order, an astute politician, a man of courage, a brilliant orator, a first-class journalist, a Socialist historian and theoretician; in addition he must feel an identity with the working class. The French Socialist Party had such a leader in Jean Jaurès. Since then the only man who has approached that mark is Léon Blum; the party is still feeding on the ideas and prestige of its seventy-five-year-old chieftain.

For the first time since 1945 the Communists face an election without a single representative in the government. Their position has both advantages and disadvantages. The theory that no one could govern without the Communists has been exploded. Moreover, they have lost a powerful campaign argument by being unable to point to a good ministerial record—in previous elections even their opponents had to concede that Billoux, for instance, was an excellent Minister of Reconstruction. On the other hand, they share no responsibility for the catastrophic price-wage policy. In foreign policy they are on solid ground when they denounce the government's failure to take a strong stand against the American plan for Germany. And finally, on the positive side of the ledger is their appeal for working-class unity against the growing threat of Gaullist gains.

At first glance, asking for unity of action seems as unrealistic as asking for the moon. Relations between Socialists and Communists have deteriorated steadily since the liberation. In 1945 the Socialists rejected organic unity with the Communists; nevertheless, sentiment for a single Marxist party was then so strong that the leadership was obliged to promise close collaboration. At the 1946 Congress fusionist enthusiasm was already on the wane, for Communist denunciations of the Socialists as Wall Street agents and reactionaries had created deep resentment; even so, the delegates left the door open for unity of action on specific issues. This year at Lyon the majority took the position that such unity was neither necessary nor possible. The minority resolution affirming the community of interests between the two parties received only a handful of votes.

In spite of this breach the Gaullist threat in the coming elections may yet produce a kind of spontaneous alliance between the Socialists and Communists. The latter are clearly trying to prepare the ground for such an eventuality: they have limited their attacks to Ramadier, assumed a less insolent tone, and called for the formation of a popular-front government based on the two parties and including the Radicals and some smaller political groups.

Actually only a popular front can pull France out of its present impasse and bring to life the program of the Resistance. If the French people were given hope that this program would be carried out, the election outlook might change in the next few weeks. But first two things must happen: the Socialists must disavow the extreme anti-Communist tendency that dominated the Lyon meeting; and the Communists must once and for all accept the Socialists as allies on an equal footing. The tactic of proposing unity one day and denouncing the recipients of the proposals as lackeys of Washington the next will bring about not a popular front but the victory of reaction.

[*This is the last of three articles on French politics.*]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

What Is Truth?

THE METAPHYSICAL SOCIETY: VICTORIAN MINDS IN CRISIS, 1869-1880. By Alan Willard Brown. Columbia University Press. $4.50.

FROM the time of Socrates, at least, men have struggled with the question which Köhler has recently called "The Place of Value in a World of Facts." What is the source of our conceptions of truth and goodness? What is the relation of these desires of men to the "natural" world?

The rise of modern science forced more intensive searching of these questions. Through the nineteenth century an increasing number of people answered them by affirming the identity of science and truth, while religious leaders and some philosophers continued to assert that truth and goodness are distinguishable from observed reality. Today this controversy continues between pragmatists and logical positivists on the one hand and philosophers who reaffirm the independent role of "objective reason" on the other. But the discussions are usually carried on at a polite distance in scholarly journals. Rarely do thinkers of strongly opposed views sit down together to consider each other's assumptions with the aim of enhanced understanding.

In England during the seventies of the last century, when the battle between science and theology was most bitter, a group of sixty-odd leaders of Victorian thought, including extremists of both schools, met monthly to discuss the fundamentals on which their life work was based. The Metaphysical Society was an unusual attempt to seek truth, or at least to further mutual understanding, through candid and penetrating exchange of thought. It is much less well known than are other activities of its famous members. Mr. Brown has performed a valuable service in discovering and bringing together in a thoughtful study the records of the society's proceedings.

The society included Huxley and Cardinal Manning, Tennyson and Bagehot, Tyndall and Gladstone; Frederic Harrison, Father Dalgrains, and Henry Sidgwick were charter members; John Morley, Leslie Stephen, Frederick Pollock, and Balfour joined during its later years. Froude said in the early days of the society that if it hung together for twelve months that would be one of the most remarkable facts in history. The fact that it continued to meet for nearly twelve years suggests both the interest of the discussions and the remarkable character of the members.

Naturally a group which represented such diversity of belief, even when meeting with the aim of discussing basic questions "with the freedom of an ordinary scientific society," did not always follow all the Victorian canons of compromise and tolerance. At an early meeting W. G. Ward responded to a request to avoid expressing moral disapprobation: "While acquiescing in this condition as a general rule, I think it cannot be expected that Christian thinkers shall give no sign of the horror with which they would view the spread of such extreme opinions as those advocated by Mr. Huxley." To which, after a moment, Huxley replied: "As Dr. Ward has spoken, I must in fairness say that it will be very difficult for me to conceal my feeling as to the intellectual degradation which would come of the acceptance of such views as Dr. Ward holds."

This, however, was unusual. In general scientists and bishops advanced to the discussion of "Verification of Beliefs," "The Emotion of Conviction," "The Incoherence of Empirical Philosophy," "Generic and Symbolic Images" (a paper by Pollock), "The Metaphysical Basis of Toleration" (by Bagehot), intent on enlarging the area of their common ground.

A paper by Mark Pattison on "Double Truth" not only sought the fuller understanding of Pascal's "reasons of the heart," which was a central preoccupation of the society, but also of the role of language in reaching such understanding. He began by pointing out that a "contract to speak the truth" as a basis for all communication is "implied in the use of language" but went on to show that in description of "fact," as well as in the expression of poetry, religion, or personal feeling, there is an inevitable gap between what is seen or apprehended and what can be communicated through language.

The society itself succeeded in communicating its discussions far beyond its own group. Sir James Knowles, editor of the *Contemporary Review,* was the founder of the Metaphysical Society, and when in 1877 he left the *Contemporary* to found the *Nineteenth Century,* members of the society were the chief contributors to the new review. Indeed, most people would have been surprised to know that for several years the articles which were the main body of the *Nineteenth Century* had first been given as papers before the Metaphysical Society.

But the main interest of Mr. Brown's book lies in the light it throws on questions of which the Metaphysical Society and the Victorian Age itself show only certain important phases: Does the fact that division of labor is necessary in the pursuit of truth mean that truth itself must remain divided—and that every individual must be divided within himself? Or is communication possible between those who start from "facts" and those who start from "values"? We may agree with Mr. Brown that "many kinds of truth are attainable by many kinds of men," but what is the relation among them? The question is not whether truth lies in "experience" or in "reason," but whether by experience we mean something more than the facts most obviously derived from sensory impressions, and whether reason is based on one segment of human nature or is derived from all human experience. (Horkheimer in his recent "Eclipse of Reason" in more than one place uses reason as synonymous with intuition.) A further question is whether conflict is something to be resolved through discussion and understanding or is inherent in reality.

Mr. Brown points out that when Pilate asked "What is truth?" he did

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not stay for an answer. The Victorians, whatever their shortcomings, stopped at no boundaries in their search.

HELEN M. LYND

John Betjeman

SLICK BUT NOT STREAMLINED. Poems and Short Pieces by John Betjeman. Selected and with an Introduction by W. H. Auden. Doubleday and Company, $3.

SORRY, but this collection is a vexation, if not a disappointment. Perhaps the trouble is that the reader has to stoop below too many low bridges, duck under too many falling arches of archness: a not too engaging title, some much too cute packaging, needlessly quaint typography, a ghastly-kittenish introduction by Mr. Auden, another introduction, somewhat over-protestant, by the author himself. Topophilia, schmopophilia; and speaking of Greek, Messrs. Doubleday and Company, cannot someone in your employ be found to do a better proofreading job on that language than was done in the third line from the top of page 132?

This said, and distraction overcome, let us consider the poems of Mr. Betjeman. These, we are admonished by Mr. Auden, are not trivial; and Mr. Betjeman seems to think they are not funny, either. So all right; what then are they? They must be serious, and sad; and so they are. But not heavy-sad; little threnodies on the flute, a watery, airy music whose metrical ripple and run are contradicted by the undercurrent of sorrow. Flute music, such as went with old Greek elegiac verse; flute music, mournful, meditative, and short.

Mr. Betjeman's material, at first glance, seems more imported and foreign than it actually is. There are American correspondences to the British suburbs and provincial towns, their decaying seaside resorts, even the subtle quarrels of rival religious sects. But these the American writer has not much cared to commemorate, nor the American reader been trained to notice, though every loved spot that our infancy knew teems with such phenomena. The most we do in this direction is an occasional herd-swooning after something like "Life with Father," or some of the minstrels of the American corn. Mr. Betjeman, however, reports in an individual way on what he has come, as an individual, to like; guided by passion, not fashion, he is fond, but not sentimental.

Pages 25-107 in the present collection consist of poems; pages 110-185 of essays. This arrangement adds to the effect of clutter, no matter how eager one is to find more books, in America, with at least a touch of belles-lettres. The essays are easy and readable; the longest, a satirical examination of various types of dons, carries on just a little too much—is the whole business that important?

Is it impossible to hope for a complete collection of John Betjeman—*all* the poems of "Continual Dew," "Old Lights for New Chancels," and "New Bats in Old Belfries," all in one volume, and the format as simple, delightful, and neat as was the last volume, published in London by John Murray?

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The Concentration Point

THE OTHER KINGDOM. By David Rousset. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.75.

TO READ this book is to be so shaken by its picture of life in the Nazi concentration camps that in writing about it one's first impulse is to burst into rhetoric, to strive for a sort of *Ersatz* communion with the sufferers by charging words with the extremities of feeling actually experienced by the prisoners. Fortunately, it cannot be done. Between those victims of totalitarianism who have made the ultimate journey into the night, and us who live—however unhappily—in the twilight of modern society, there can be only a tenuous and incomplete understanding. We may understand what has happened, but *they know.* And so all I wish to say here is that this is a terrible and tragic report of the time we live in and the life man lives; that it is the most terrifying of all the reports on the concentration camps, even though it recounts the fewest atrocities; and that it is written by a man of fine feeling and genuine talent who has the capacity to shape his emotion and increase its power by restraint.

It is the most terrifying of all the memoirs by inmates of concentration camps because it gives meaning and order to their experience. If the behavior of the S. S. were some form of collective madness or atavistic reversion, or if it were a national quirk or an inexplicable outburst of man's irrational nature—then the terror would not be so great. Then we could resort to medicine or hospitals or jails or ropes; or we could declare the situation hopeless and try to run away. It would be, so to speak, a natural terror.

But Rousset shows us that it was an organized terror, a *policy.* He tries to answer the basic question which must always arise when we discuss the concentration camps: Why didn't the Nazis just kill off their victims? Why did they torture them for years, destroy them and yet preserve them?

I think Rousset gives the best answer that has yet been provided to these questions. The Nazis didn't want to kill their victims because the camps, with "living" prisoners, provided the most effective means of paralyzing the peoples of Europe into subjection. They convinced millions of people that death was not the worst possible fate, but that there was a kind of death-within-life which was worse than death. And since the Nazis were able to control both life and death to the most refined and exquisite point, they arrogated to themselves not merely the existence but also the destiny of those whom they ruled. Nor is this peculiar to the Nazis. As Rousset insists, it is characteristic of all modern societies as they sink into their bureaucratized and mechanized despond.

There were, of course, other uses for the camps: they were collecting points for slave labor, places to isolate oppositionists of conquered nations, and a source of workers for secret projects who would never be able to divulge the secrets they learned. But, basically, the camps served as the specter of fear. They were the concentration points—the Nazis named the camps quite perfectly—of all the characteristics of modern totalitarianism, which is, in turn, the concentration point of capitalist society. It is this simple but commanding view on which Rousset insists, and which prevents us from grasping, with cheap comfort, at the belief that Buchenwald was somehow remote from us. If we

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accept Rousset's analysis, then Buchenwald impinges crucially on our existence: it is the mirror which distorts, in order to clarify.

And there lies the terror of Rousset's book. For now we are connected with what happened at Buchenwald; we see the evil of modern life tied to its social matrix. That it all makes sense and that we allow it to continue—is this not more terrifying than all the accounts of concentration camps which pile horror on horror but fail to explain them?

Buchenwald mirrors modern life, not only in terms of the relationship between the S. S. and its prisoners, but also in terms of the relationship between groups of prisoners themselves. One of the most sickening revelations of Rousset's book is that the routine beatings were administered, not by the S. S., but by a bureaucracy of prisoners who, in gratitude for a second piece of bread or one less slash of the whip, were the most merciless persecutors of their fellows. Among the inmates there broke out a deadly struggle between the "greens" (criminals and non-politicals) and the "reds" (politicals) for control of the camp administration. Through superior discipline the politicals finally won. They had faced the bitter choice of letting themselves be tortured and slaughtered by the "greens" or of taking over the camp and accepting Nazi domination in order to save a few more of their comrades than otherwise. They chose the latter, and they were right. If one wants to survive in the house of the damned—and the politicals felt their group survival to be imperative—then one must realistically face one's narrow area of moral choice.

Rousset mentions Kafka several times, and not by accident. "The Other Kingdom" fills in some of the space between Kafka's bare structures; it develops, in specific incident, what Kafka presaged in dramatic abstractions.

Rousset's use of elliptic narrative and fragmentary exposition, which makes for dramatic and speedy sequences, is strange to American readers. But its effects are on the whole very successful; they remind one of a speeded-up montage. Other than that, all one can say of this book is read it, for it is part of the essential experience of our time. IRVING HOWE

Brief for Canonization

A. P. GIANNINI: GIANT IN THE WEST. A Biography. By Julian Dana. Prentice-Hall. $4.50.

TIME was when the tycoons of American finance, conscious that they were making both money and history, were arrogantly indifferent to contemporary opinion. But today the career of a tycoon is not complete until an "official" biography has been prepared, in his lifetime, for his careful scrutiny and personal approval. While this procedure doubtless shortens the gap between achievement and chronicle, it makes more difficult a real understanding of the careers of these extremely important public figures.

In this instance, it would take a dozen investigators armed with the power of subpoena to unravel the truth from the fiction in Julian Dana's biography of the great "A. P."—Amadeo Peter Giannini of California. "Biography," however, is not the term with which to describe this book: it is a brief for canonization. Dana would have his readers believe that this ruthless, domineering, aggressive financier is by nature and achievement a friend of the common man—the Thomas Jefferson of Montgomery Street.

The story of A. P. is, indeed, a fascinating chronicle. Born in San José in 1870, the son of a poor Italian immigrant couple, A. P. was a successful produce broker at fifteen, and at thirty-one had retired with a modest fortune. He entered the banking business in 1904 and is today the head of the largest banking business in the world, with hundreds of branches, 15,000 employees, and 500,000 stockholders. His is one of the great success stories of this century, to be compared only with that of Henry Ford. With the perverse sense of history that seems to characterize the "official" biographer, Mr. Dana describes Giannini as the "torrential force" behind the remarkable economic expansion of California, when in point of fact the economic and industrial growth of California since 1900 should be regarded as the key to the remarkable success of A. P. Giannini. Certainly it was the amazingly rapid growth of the produce industry in California that gave the original Bank of Italy its initial impetus.

Always wary of Wall Street, the usually shrewd A. P. walked into a trap in the early thirties when, with his ac-

Christ. God, Man or Myth?

Did Christ himself write down any record of his life? If so, where are these writings today? Do they exist in any museum or library or sacred shrine? Can you find a trace of them in the vast and mysterious subterranean archives of the Vatican in Rome? The answer is NO! Nowhere has any man been able to discover a single word that Jesus wrote!

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"A Shield Has Two Sides" is not sold through bookstores for reasons you will readily understand after you have read the first few pages. But the Publishers will gladly send a copy on approval to any sincere seeker of knowledge, over 21, who seeks unbiased facts about the Christian Church and how it functions today. Dramatic illustrations. Send only $1.00 in full payment.

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quisition of the House of Blair, he decided to place Elisha Walker in charge of his gigantic financial empire. Within a year Walker began to liquidate the vast holdings which Giannini had acquired, presumably at the bidding of "the corner" (J. P. Morgan and Company). But neither Walker nor his colleagues had reckoned with Giannini's fighting qualities. Returning secretly from Europe, A. P. won a sensational fight with Walker for proxies and regained control of the Bank of America empire. It was a great personal triumph; it was also an important victory for Western industry, for it freed California to some extent from Eastern financial domination. It is also apparent that Giannini has been a "progressive" banker in the sense that he has never been infatuated with tradition; that he has had the imagination to back what have appeared to be risky ventures—such, for example, as the motion picture industry—and that the branch-banking idea, in which he was so successful a pioneer, has been "progressive" in terms of operating efficiency and banking service.

Having admitted as much, we still face the question: to what extent is a Western monopolist any different from an Eastern monopolist? To be sure, Giannini has fought the battle of the West, that is, of large-scale Western agriculture, business, and industry. But has it made any difference to the 250,000 agricultural workers in California that Giannini won this battle? In 1936 California Lands, Inc., a subsidiary of Transamerican Corporation (Bank of America), boasted that it had developed into "the largest diversified farming organization in the world, owning and operating approximately 600,000 acres of land." In that year the company harvested seventeen major crops totaling 4,121 carloads of produce. "These crops," crowed the company, "placed in one continuous train would take 56 engines, each pulling 74 cars, a train crew of 336 men, and would stretch out for over 36 miles." On October 31, 1939, the company owned 1,718 farms totaling 395,000 acres and valued at $25,000,000, and its income from farm operations was $2,511,643. Nor do these figures include farm mortgages held by the Bank of America on 7,398 farms, totaling 1,023,000 acres, mortgages representing an indebtedness of $40,340,000. Needless to say, these figures are not garnered from Dana's book, they come from the files of the La Follette committee investigations. Nor does Mr. Dana so much as mention the Associated Farmers of California, an organization with whose formation the Bank of America had much to do.

On the subject of his hero's social and political views Mr. Dana is a little less than frank. A. P., he writes, has "a deep and abiding American contempt" for totalitarian practices. Perhaps he has today, in 1947; but there was a time when he extolled Mussolini to the skies as "the Sun God of the Italian people." Nor was his "contempt" for fascism so abiding as to preclude important financial backing for Italian fascism through the Banca d'America e d'Italia. Mr. Dana's infatuation for Amadeo Peter has another rather curious aspect. For example, he devotes several pages to proving that A. P. is *not* anti-Semitic. Has the great man been accused of being anti-Semitic? If so, by whom? on what evidence? In the absence of some such explanation, the reader can only conclude that Mr. Dana protests too much.

Apart from the social consequences of his career, the great A. P. is obviously an attractive individual: noisy, frank, full of bounce and vigor; a remarkable combination of Italian showmanship and California breeziness. Many things he may be, but he is not a stuffed shirt. On the eve of the 1932 Presidential campaign Herbert Hoover telephoned to ask for his support. Giannini declined. "Was that really the President you were talking to?" he was asked. "Oh, no," he replied. "I was just chatting with a political tumbleweed caught in a high wind."

CAREY MC WILLIAMS

Haldane with Left Angles

SCIENCE ADVANCES. By J. B. S. Haldane. The Macmillan Company. $3.

HALDANE knows more about most things than most people. These simple essays, delightfully written, were published in large measure in the *Daily Worker* in Great Britain, and they deal with men, animals, plants, physiology, evolution, medicine, hygiene, inventions, Soviet and Nazi science. Haldane knows his facts, but since he is a Communist, the facts have always to be explained according to "dialectical materialism."

In his essay on Marx Haldane tells us that Newton's work was possible because "people needed exact knowledge of the movements of the stars for navigation and of cannon balls for war." Darwin could make his generalizations because "the exploitation of colonies had disclosed the distribution of living animals and plants through the world." Since "material systems develop and perish according to dialectical principles," Engels foresaw that chemical atoms could be subdivided. Far be it from me to deny that the world around us *is* a vital factor in influencing human actions. Long before Marx was born, Shakespeare was described as "a product of his time." But having described Shakespeare thus, have you also described his genius? Were Newton and Darwin merely the products of their *times? Did they not also, so to speak,* modify the times in which they lived? Is it merely the environment which rules the world? Is it not rather a matter of environment and heredity acting and reacting one against the other? Was Einstein's work supplementing Newton "possible" only because "exact knowledge" was needed for the development of the atomic bomb?

We are told that half a century ago almost everyone—except the dialectical materialists—believed that the elements were created by God or had existed forever. We are also told that every teacher "even slightly influenced by Marxism" can show that human progress is dependent on technological improvements. But why is it necessary to be even slightly influenced to explain the more or less obvious? According to Haldane, we owe to Lenin the distinction of prophesying that the electron is probably not the simplest piece of matter. But Mr. Haldane, several hundred thousand other people prophesied that too!

Haldane's chapter on Genetics in the Soviet Union places him in an awkward position. How is he to evaluate the dispute centering in Lysenko's attack on genetics in general and Vavilov in particular—the Vavilov who is among the foremost geneticist in Russia? "I am

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convinced," writes Haldane, "that he [Lysenko] went too far." Here we find Haldane the geneticist contending with the follower of "dialectical materialism." For once the geneticist wins.

Vavilov has been silenced. Several other Russian geneticists managed to escape the country to get jobs abroad. "But," writes Haldane, "several good British geneticists have recently lost their posts, one for marrying a Chinese wife, another for trying to expose corruption in an institute, and a third for disproving one of his professor's pet theories." But surely this merely shows, according to his own evidence, that the British are just as bad as the Russians, not that the Russians are so much better than the British.

The chapters on Nazi science—let's call it Nazi pathology—are excellent. Blood and soil, the race theory, and experiments on human beings are treated as the ebullitions of deranged minds.

If the reader is ready to dismiss the constant side excursions into communism as relatively unimportant, he will find Haldane's book all that one would anticipate from a brilliant mind and an effective writer.

BENJAMIN HARROW

Answer to Ingersoll?

OPERATION VICTORY. By Major General Sir Frances de Guingand. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.75.

MONTGOMERY'S Chief of Staff, Major General De Guingand, is the first British officer of high rank to offer an account of the war and its strategy. "Operation Victory" is a lucid, easily read book, not at all brass hat and modestly critical of operations and personalities. The author makes little reference to the larger political aspects of the war, and for the greater part he accepts the over-all strategy that was decided upon in London. However, he always believed that the Greek adventure was a total mistake, undertaken for political reasons, one of which was the government's fear that Britain would lose further credit with the United States if no aid were offered to Athens. The projected campaign "had no military advantage," and Sir Francis was distressed to note that his soberly calculated figures were enthusiastically inflated by the British mission, which apparently persuaded the Greeks to resist the Nazi invasion. There is an excellent chapter on Montgomery, for whom Sir Francis has a great but not dazzled admiration. Better in set battles than in a fluid situation, the Field Marshal had all the qualities required to lead the British armies in their lonely predicament. He was the military counterpart of Churchill. His confidence, or egotism, was of untold value to men who were beginning to lose faith in their leaders.

Americans will naturally read "Operation Victory" with Mr. Ingersoll's criticism of Montgomery and the British strategy in mind. There is no reference to the debates over the second front in this book. One may assume that General Guingand was orthodox in the British sense, though to judge by his views on the Soviet-German pact—as set down in 1940—he was not unsympathetic to the Russian demand, made in July, 1939, for a free hand in the Baltic countries and Poland. In dealing with the battle for Caen and the Falaise thrust the author replies directly to Mr. Ingersoll. His defense of his superior in the Caen affair is, I think, somewhat weak, but he shows that the American writer underrated both the importance of the Falaise breakthrough and the German resistance. Sir Francis did not approve of Montgomery's original proposal for a narrow breakthrough into Germany. He sees neither weakness nor impropriety in his superior's conduct of operations during the Battle of the Bulge. If Montgomery did not throw in his reserves when American critics thought he should have done so, he had good reasons. The German objectives were Liège, Brussels, and Antwerp, not a general breakthrough into France. Montgomery therefore kept his reserves in hand to meet the expected thrust.

Sir Francis has a very high esteem for the generalship of Patton and Bradley but offers no extensive discussion of major "if's" such as whether the war could have been ended in 1944 had the paramount effort been made on the right wing, as Bradley urged. There is nothing polemical about his replies to American critics, and the temper of his writing throughout is that of a professional soldier who believes that every nation has its own necessary strategy.

RALPH BATES

The Mystical Tradition in Judaism

MAJOR TRENDS IN JEWISH MYSTICISM. By Gershom G. Scholem. Schocken Books. $5.50.

MORE than one eminent Jewish scholar has hailed this volume as a "classic of Jewish literature." A Christian may be permitted to add his tribute by recognizing it as a major classic in the history of mysticism.

The biography of the writer and of his book supplies an illuminating and suggestive background for an appreciation of the book itself. Dr. Scholem was born in Berlin and has found refuge in Jerusalem, where he is now professor of Jewish mysticism in the Hebrew University. The material here gathered together was first offered as lectures at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York and first published in Jerusalem in May, 1941; it is now reissued in an admirably printed and annotated American edition by Schocken Books.

"If the great task of Jewish scholarship in our generation, the task of rewriting Jewish history with a deeper understanding of the interplay of religious, political, and social forces, is to be successfully carried out, there is urgent need for a new elucidation of the function which Jewish mysticism has had at varying periods, of its ideals, and of its approach to the various problems arising from the actual conditions at such times." The motives of the author and certain of his presuppositions

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are thus set forth in his Preface. The arduous and ambitious assignment which he has essayed is brilliantly discharged; his objectives are abundantly fulfilled.

Dr. Scholem brings to his task unequaled gifts. A linguist with competence in the varied tongues in which his sources are imbedded, a research scholar who unites sympathetic understanding with penetrating insight, and insight with balanced critical judgment, he holds his voluminous materials under ready and confident command, and presents their often forbidding complexities and obscurities with never-failing lucidity and no little literary charm.

The work opens with a brilliant essay on General Characteristics of Jewish Mysticism, one of the most masterly discussions of the characteristic features of mystical apprehension, of the distinctions and interrelations of mythology, religion, and mysticism, cosmogony and eschatology, allegory and symbolism, philosophy and prayer, and of the comparison and contrast between Jewish and Christian mysticism, known to this reviewer within the compass of a single chapter. This introductory lecture alone will richly repay the casual reader who may not have interest or time for the detailed historical exposition which follows.

"The first phase" of the two-millennia development is discovered to have had its sources in the first century of the Christian era, and in Palestine. (To Christians, it is of special interest that this neglected aspect of Judaism should have taken its rise in the same land and at the same time as their own offspring of Judaism.) This first period carries the student through ten centuries, with special attention to theological presuppositions and to the parallel emergence of gnosticism. "Its subject is never man, be he even a saint. . . . Its gaze is fixed on God and his aura. . . . All its originality is on the ecstatical side, while the moral aspect is starved" One could wish that more generous space had been allocated to this first millennium with more detailed delineation of successive epochs.

The heart of the volume, four of its nine chapters, deals with the medieval period, first the rise of Hasidism in Germany contemporary with St. Francis of Assisi, and then the longer, richer, and more esoteric pilgrimage of Spanish Kabbalism to the mass expulsion of the Jews from Spain in the year of Columbus's great discovery. Three concluding lectures summarizing respectively the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries deal with Isaac Luria and his followers, with Sabbatianism, and with the Hasidism of Poland as the most recent significant expression of this many-sided impulse within Jewish piety —"three stages of the same process."

Dr. Scholem's treatment throughout is no less rich in its penetration to the deeper springs of the successive phases, often more striking in their contrasts than in their similarities, than in its detailed exposition of the phenomena themselves. Moreover, his purview is in no sense restricted to the faith of his own people; some of the most illuminating passages point up kinships and contrasts with other types of mysticism, especially Christian. The struggle with intolerant rabbinical orthodoxy is a tragic but not unexpected motif.

One would suppose that this work would be "required reading" for all serious Jewish students of their own tradition. Christians will discover themselves graciously introduced to phases of a sister faith of which they must confess almost total ignorance. Finally, all who are alive, whether sympathetically or not, to the never-quelled longing of the human spirit for direct experience of the Divine will find here a mine of invaluable testimony, presented with a sympathy which is all the more attractive because tempered by discerning judgment.

HENRY P. VAN DUSEN

Man's Beginnings

THE ORIGIN OF THINGS. By Julius Lips. A. A. Wyn. $5.

DISCOUNT the publisher's claim that this is "a book to take its place on the standard shelf beside Frazier's [*sic*] 'Golden Bough'." Neither its matter nor its manner justifies such "hyblurbole." What can reasonably be said is that Dr. Lips, a distinguished anthropologist, has written a good popular account of the beginnings and early evolution of human ideas, institutions, and tools, using this last word in its widest sense. The illustrations by Eva Lips are copious and good. Chapter headings such as Of Hearth and Home and Pots and Pans, Accessories of Allure, Wall Street in the Jungle, Education Without Books, give a good idea both of the scope of the book and its over-journalistic style.

Dr. Lips has gathered facts diligently and organized them well. But some of his generalizations will raise the eyebrows of his fellow-anthropologists. For instance, he attributes female and animal figurines of the Aurignacian period to "a purely aesthetic expression," though most students of the subject agree that the idea of "art for art's sake" was foreign to primitive man; he was concerned with art for magic's sake. Again we find Dr. Lips in a sentimental mood declaring, "Wherever we pay our visit among the primitives, we find a like nearness to the gods and a like peace of mind." Clearly he has yet to visit Ruth Benedict's neurotic Dobuans.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Films

JAMES AGEE

THE GREAT DAWN" is a quasi-biography of the Italian musical prodigy Pierino Gambina, starring Pierino Gambina. Now and then the picture faintly promises to show how a prodigy is really manufactured and sold; and Pierino, a haunted-looking little boy, looks as if under wise direction he could carry whatever they handed him, of that sort. But the promise never pays off, whether because this is a highly "authorized" biography, or because of everybody's genuine affection and admiration for the child, or because this particular prodigy is as lucky in life as he is on film, I don't know. What you get here is a simple little story about a gifted child; his pretty mother, a runaway bourgeoise; his musician father, who runs away from her; her solid father, who detests "artists"; and an engaging, slap-happy priest, who rather suggests Keenan Wynn and who is chiefly responsible for developing and placing the boy's talent. In many respects the whole business is rather thin, even silly, but there are redeeming features which make the picture, at worst, pleasant to sit through. It is done more like a charade than a would-be work of art or even of professional entertainment, with quite a nice sense of comedy, and with little jets of that free talent and fearless vitality which seem

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to abound today in Italy. I couldn't be sure, thanks in part either to flaws either in the sound-track or in the theater's equipment, whether Gambina is a good conductor or a madly overrated one. I am sure that the strings catch fire nicely in one passage in the William Tell Overture, that the well-known Four Notes in Beethoven's Fifth Symphony should not be performed as if they said Fee Fie Fo Fum, and that unless movie people can manage to present pieces of music whole rather than in bloody gobbets, they'd better not try at all.

"The Tawny Pipit" is an English pastoral comedy about bird-lovers, both lay and professional, and what happens to them when, in mid war time, a pair of very rare birds decides to breed in an English pinfold. The English reviewer C. A. Lejeune was rather chilly about this film. I think she was right, and that a good many other Englishmen must agree with her; for what might, with sharper treatment, have been a real beauty of a comedy is blunted by that special simpering affection which some of the English are so ready to feel for themselves. It is an almost unimaginably genteel picture, and if you had, as it were, to sit in the same parlor with it, you would probably suffer a good deal. But at this comfortable distance in blood as well as space I was able, rather to my dismay, to take all this extreme Englishness almost in the spirit in which it was offered. For one thing, the picture is so obviously a labor of love, and the job of a lifetime, for Bernard Miles, an actor who has always seemed to me a particularly nice guy; he not only acts in this—rather badly—but co-wrote and co-directed it, with Charles Saunders. For another, in spite of its profuse cuteness and genteelism, it has a good deal of genuine charm, humor, and sweetness of temper.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

TO CATCH up now on the August records, and to begin with what I thought would be especially interesting, RCA Victor's set (1129; $2.85) of the Suite No. 2 from Prokofiev's music for the ballet "Romeo and Juliet": it turns out to be an adaptation of the resources of Prokofiev's idiom to the purpose of the action—expertly made, suitable, agreeable to the ear, but, for me at any rate, with no inner life to command interest in it for itself. Koussevitzky's performance with the Boston Symphony seems good and is excellently reproduced—though in my review copy the conclusion wavers in pitch.

Stokowski, conducting the Hollywood Bowl Orchestra, produces the performance of Tchaikovsky's "Pathétique" Symphony one would expect: eccentric and wilful in pace, mannered and fussy in phrasing, distorted in shape (Set 1105; $6.85). It is not always clear on the records; and occasional vagaries of balance and volume lead one to suspect that Stokowski did some twiddling of control-knobs.

The materials, plant, and labor that RCA Victor can't waste on any of Schnabel's new H. M. V. recordings, or even on keeping his old ones available, it expends on a four-record set (1133; $4.85) of Glazunov's music for the ballet "Raymonda," which one tolerates with the dancing but which has no claim to attention without it. The playing of the Boston "Pops" Orchestra under Fiedler is excellent and well reproduced.

Even the two sides of the H. M. V. recording of Schnabel's beautiful performance of Mozart's wonderful Rondo K.511 is something on which RCA Victor can't waste the materials, plant, and labor that it expends on Mozart's inconsequential Adagio and Rondo K.617 for glass harmonica, played on the celesta, not always clearly, by E. Power Biggs with a quartet of excellent winds and strings (11-9570; $1).

Columbia offers Liszt's enjoyable "Mephisto Waltz," played by Rodzinski with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set X-281; $3). The performance has a little of Rodzinski's tenseness; but I find this less disturbing than

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the over-emphatic distortions of Koussevitzky's recorded performance. Its recorded sound is clear but without the luster of Koussevitzky's; and one side of my copy wavers badly in pitch.

On a single disc (72047-D; $1). is the one good performance that Maryla Jonas gave at the one recital I attended —of Schubert's Impromptu Opus 90 No. 3; but on the reverse side are her more characteristic performances—excessively mannered, oscillating between the extremes of loud and soft—of a group of Schubert waltzes. The recorded sound is the best Columbia has achieved with the piano so far.

The English Decca set (ED-30; $7) of Stravinsky's "Firebird" Suite offers an excellent performance by Ansermet with the London Philharmonic, reproduced with the depth in space and the rich sonority of the best Ffrr recording. Choice between this and the recent Columbia set of the new version of the suite recorded by Stravinsky is difficult. Stravinsky includes one more excerpt than Ansermet—the *pas de deux* of the Prince and the Firebird; but Ansermet includes the wonderful transition from the Berceuse to the Finale that Stravinsky omits. As for performance, I prefer the characteristic power and clarity of Stravinsky's which is well reproduced if not with the luster of Ansermet's.

Concord Recordings has issued a set of three black vinylite records with the first five Preludes and Fugues of Book I of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier, played on the harpsichord by Dorothy Lane. I can't report on No. 2, since my copy of the set has instead a repetition of No. 1 (of which, incidentally, I find the Fugue to be an extremely uninteresting piece of music); but Miss Lane plays Nos. 1, 3, and 5 with clarity, grace, and both brilliance and variety of tonal color. In the great Prelude of No. 4, however, her execution of the ornaments destroys rhythmic continuity; and in the great Fugue she does a great deal of pounding that produces thick sonorities in which the counterpoint is not clear. The performances are well reproduced.

International Records has issued Villa-Lobos's String Quartet No. 6 ("Quartetto Brasileiro"), played by the Stuyvesant Quartet. The work is still another example of this composer's appalling fluency in the production of worthless music; the performance is first-rate; its recorded sound is somewhat brash on my wide-range machine. perfectly agreeable on one of limited range; surfaces are not quiet.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

In Defense of C. A. B.

Dear Sirs: Since an article by Dr. Charles A. Siepmann in your issue of July 5 (Radio: Tool of Reactionaries) has been distributed to the Canadian press, I hope you will in fairness permit us to correct as briefly as possible certain misapprehensions of fact appearing in it.

The Canadian Association of Broadcasters' brief before the parliamentary committee took pains to point out the close constitutional relationship between the government-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the "government of the day"—that is, the "executive" arm of government. The situation is similar to what would exist if the FCC not only possessed its present powers over stations but also operated stations, had a network monopoly with power to add non-government stations to that network, had power to censor all material broadcast, including news, and to set network rates for stations, told stations from what sources they might draw news, possessed power to make all stations carry such material as it might dictate, could expropriate the stations at any time, and was responsible to the President, not to Congress,

The brief does not attack or seek to discredit the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Before previous parliamentary committees C. A. B. has made it clear that the independent stations have no quarrel with the concept of the nationally owned broadcasting system in Canada. Our case is simply and solely (a) that such a system should be as directly as possible responsible to Parliament rather than the executive arm, and (b) that both it and the independent (non-government) stations should be licensed and regulated by an impartial semi-judicial tribunal, removable only (as in the case of Canadian judges) by joint address of Parliament, not by whim of the executive arm, such body to hold meetings and render decisions open to the press and public. . . .

The cost of our advertising campaign, as pointed out to the parliamentary committee, came to about the same in a ten-year period as the published cost of one C. B. C. station's own promotion campaign in a six-month period. There are no "high-powered public-relations concerns," to use Dr. Siepmann's phrase, connected with, paid by, or employed by this association, nor were any such utilized in any way to put our case before Parliament and the public, this year or at any time. . . .

The public-opinion poll to which Dr. Siepmann refers did not purport to prove that "the majority of Canadians support a system of commercial enterprise." It showed the preference of Canadians with respect to various types of businesses and their ownership. In some cases government ownership was preferred; in others, private ownership. The survey firm presented to the Parliamentary Radio Committee only that section of the poll which dealt with radio, and it showed that Canadians were generally not in favor of a government system of radio.

The independent stations of Canada did not and do not seek "expanded activity through the creation of a Canadian FCC." It is difficult to see how a Canadian FCC would permit such expanded activity.*

The C. A. B. brief asks for (a) legal right to freedom of speech on the air in Canada and (b) safeguarding of that and other rights by means of a licensing and regulatory body as far removed as practicable from political pressures. The C. B. C. would continue as a broadcasting body, but would not possess licensing or regulatory power over its non-government competitors. . . .

Dr. Siepmann charges that outlying areas would not receive good service from independent broadcasters. We can name dozens and dozens of areas now served by independent stations and only by them. The ten C. B. C. outlets are located in or near the largest metropolitan centers of Canada. Most of the 103 independent stations serve small communities, some extremely remote.

Independent radio in Canada has a first-class record of public service—a fact admitted even by most of its enemies. If it didn't have, the fault would lie as much with the C. B. C. as with the independent stations. The C. B. C. has complete network control; it has power to take into account the public-service record of stations when recommending license renewals. United States programs are now brought into Canada by C. B. C. and fed to its networks. It is from this source that the C. B. C. derives a substantial portion of its revenue. It is doubtful whether the

* But that it would is a paradox Dr. Siepmann took some pains to establish.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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government enterprise could carry on at all without this aid from non-government United States networks. Only four independent stations, all on or very near the border, bring in and broadcast United States programs.

French-speaking Canadians get satisfactory service from independent stations; did so long before the C. B. C. ever existed. There are three C. B. C. French-language stations, seventeen independent French-language stations.

It should be pointed out, too, that the C. B. C. itself possesses all the international clear channels in Canada; has monopoly on the high power—independent stations are limited, in the main, to five kilowatt, and only 3 out of 103 have power above that. They are almost all limited to Class III channels or those of lower preference.

H. S. DAWSON, Manager,
Canadian Association of Broadcasters
Toronto, September 18

[*Mr. Dawson's letter was submitted to Dr. Siepmann for a possible reply. Dr. Siepmann's answer was that he believed his article spoke for itself, and he did not care to make further comment.* —EDITORS THE NATION.]

How to Fix Things

Dear Sirs: A large number of labor leaders have been appearing before Congressional committees and have expressed their opinion regarding proposed labor laws that the committees are pretending to consider—as a concession to what is humorously called public opinion. Inasmuch as I am very greatly interested in labor laws, I beg for a small amount of space in your valuable publication to give a little kindly advice to those dear labor leaders.

In your testimony regarding proposed labor laws, with practical unanimity you declared that the proposed laws would destroy labor unions. Well, bless your dear stupid souls, that is what the laws are intended to do, and when you assure the committee that the laws, as written, will accomplish their intended purpose,

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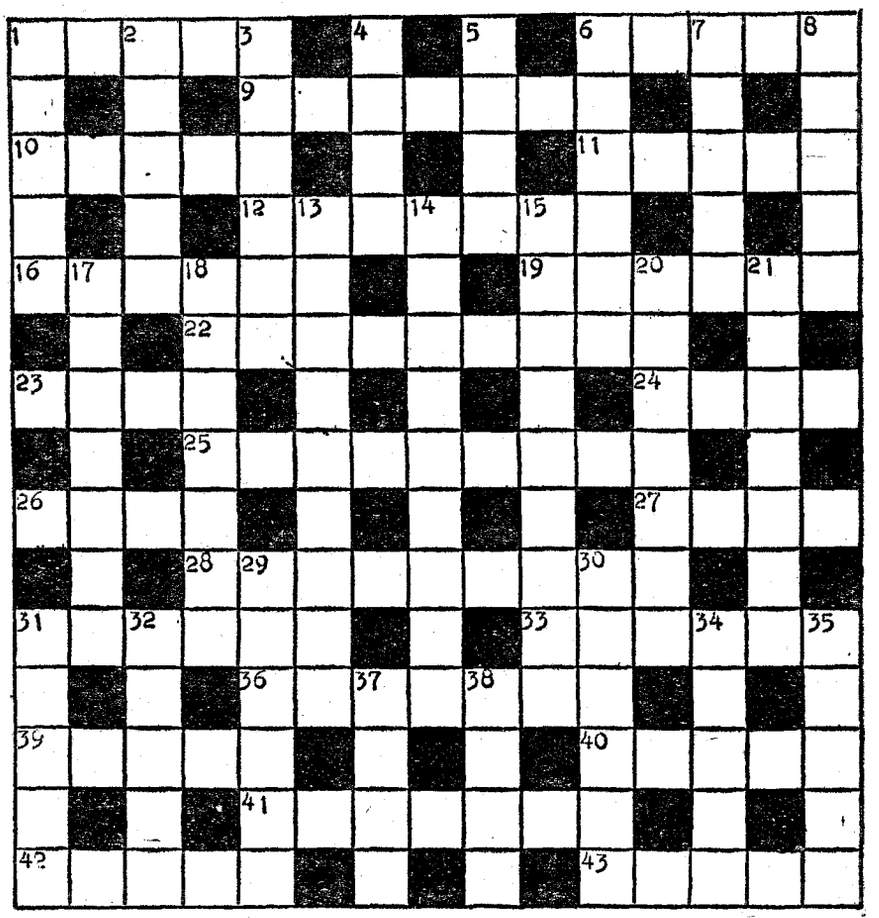
CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 230 By MR. Y.



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the fourth of six puzzles constructed by Mr. Y in competition with Mr. X. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

1 A slab of flesh. (5)
6 Gold on brass. (5)
9 Back to greeting a jealous lover? (7)
10 Not a mere man. (5)
11 He's O. K. for a pilot. (5)
12 Passenger vehicle and a truck make one, of course. (7)
16 Worn at back, with diminishing returns. (6)
19 Tackled with cogs? (6)
22 Makes quite a fuss with the food supply. (9)
23 Is the weather forecast negative in one direction? (4)
24 Since I precede, I'm in Shakespeare. (4)
25 This sounds a mess! (5, 4)
26 There must be a use for him! (4)
27 It's easy to see I hurried out of here! (4)
28 Nice standard, but a nicer riot. (9)
31 Thick with jam? (6)
33 In short, 30 notices these nymphs. (6)
36 Not the chewing gum, but next thing to it. (7)
39 Socks a minor prophet. (5)
40 Usually attributed to Gus. (5)
41 Did such a song make a wreck out of Ulysses? (7)
42 Sometimes cornered in the pit. (5)
43 As well known a lake as any in Africa. (5)

DOWN

1 You'll have to do this before finishing this puzzle. (5)
2 Seven the hard way smooths off the rough spots. (5)
3 Was the army this to win? (6)
4 Dark woman, not for light work. (4)
5 He is almost a serf! (4)
6 Carried nothing to this place? (6)
7 A bit of this sounds divine! (5)
8 Didn't stand in dread of anything. (5)
13 Not found in equilateral triangles? (9)
14 Pretty low-down for a cellar? (9)
15 Makes quite a commotion. (9)
17 Remember the Maine, as an opposite state. (7)
18 Good price for a buck-saw, to show where to use it. (7)
20 Article I string along with, just for color. (7)
21 Poetically a good place to be on April Fool's day. (7)
29 To edit part of a Russian Play? (6)
30 One out of many under Washington. (6)
31 An afterthought, and not "Gee!", for an expletive. (5)
32 In America stern, in India strict. (5)
34 Where Selassie's ancestors chased Musso's. (5)
35 Did Uncle get his degree at a School for the Dance? (5)
37 Green river. (4)
38 A military policeman is around for these mischief-makers. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 229

ACROSS:—1 CRABBED; 5 ARCHWAY; 9 FORBEAR; 10 CRANIAL; 11 ELATE; 12 NORTHWEST; 14 EIRE; 15 STEWARD; 18 EWE; 20 PIE; 21 DEVISED; 23 IBIS; 26 CONSENSUS; 28 CHEER; 29 TRIBUTE; 30 SUPPORT; 31 REELECT; 32 SILICON.

DOWN:—1 CUFFED; 2 ABROAD; 3 BREWERIES; 4 DERANGE; 5 ACCORDS; 6 CRASH; 7 WHITECAP; 8 YULETIDE; 13 OWE; 16 EPISCOPAL; 17 RIP; 18 EDUCATOR; 19 EVENTIDE; 22 DESSERT; 23 INSISTS; 24 HEROIC; 25 BRITON; 27 ELUDE.

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the committee is encouraged to urge their passage.

The Republicans, as political agents for the "economic royalists," have been seeking to abolish labor laws ever since they were placed on the statute books, but this is the first opportunity they have had to accomplish their purpose and they propose to take full advantage of that opportunity. If you had assured the committee that the laws as written would strengthen unions, they would have made haste to rewrite them. The "economic royalists" and job owners have but one purpose—to make private profits—and the members of your unions are mere tools or accessories to the iron tools that they employ in the profit-making process. All tools, including men, require expense of maintenance: so much for oil and repairs for iron tools, so much feed for mules, and so much wages for hired hands as tools. By repealing or rewriting labor laws, Congressional stooges of the job owners hope to reduce the expense of maintenance for the human tools.

Of course, if you had enough sense to pour sand down a rat hole, you would advise your readers to take possession of the iron tools they have made and operate them for their own wages instead of for profits that are squandered at Palm Beach and similar resorts. That would abolish strikes, unemployment, and poverty and elevate your readers from tools to human beings.

FRANK SIMPSON

San Diego, September 17

Love That War!

Dear Sir: The naming of the new political party in California, Independent Progressive, lacks punch, zing, conviction, and recruiting force. Apart from its length and the musty smell of the library, it has too much "for" in it and not enough "agin."

Americans are born "aginers." They were agin King George. They were agin slavery. They were anti-federalists and they were abolitionists.

There's a lot to be agin these days. High prices. Trend toward atomic war. Taft-Hartley Act. How to focus, how to funnel the "agin" feeling?

Fred Wakeman's book, "The Hucksters," and the movie have shown the American people for the first time the arrogance, the swinishness, the tyranny of big business.

Why not an Anti-Huckster Party with a slogan, "Throw the hucksters out!"

Such a party has a tremendous job. It has to show how the hucksters smashed OPA and rent control, how the hucksters killed the housing act, how the hucksters put over the Taft-Hartley law.

The relationship between hucksters and fascism has to be revealed. It was the National Association of Steel and Chemical Hucksters in Germany who put Hitler in. It was the Federazione of Hucksters in Italy who put Mussolini in. It was the Honorable Hucksters Society in Japan that invented the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

If the Honorable Hucksters Society in Japan and the National Association of Hucksters in Germany seem remote to the average American, let him study the boards of directors of German and Japanese companies prior to World War II. He will find many famous American hucksters on the boards—and they were enjoying themselves and getting profits out of war with China and the concentration camps in Germany.

The German and Japanese hucksters have been cut down to size but their American pals are swarming all over Washington, passing laws, setting national policy, sabotaging the U. N.

Love that soft soap! Love that soap made out of children's bodies! Love that war! Or throw the hucksters out!

NORMAN BURNSIDE

New York, September 15

Requests Bourne Letters

Dear Sirs: Alyse Gregory, widow of Llewelyn Powys and formerly managing editor of the *Dial*, now living in England, is writing a book on Randolph Bourne. She asks that those who have letters from him send them to me at 282 West Forty-second Street, New York. I will have them copied and promptly returned.

AGNES DE LIMA

New York, September 10

CONTRIBUTORS

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